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# Saskatchewan HISTORY

★ Local Government  
In the North-West  
Territories (II).

BY

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# Saskatchewan History

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# Local Government in the North West Territories

## II. THE RURAL MUNICIPALITIES

THE rural municipalities, though few in number, were an interesting and significant part of western development. It has often been remarked<sup>1</sup> that this form of local government was too elaborate and expensive for the times. Only four of them were formed: Qu'Appelle, South Qu'Appelle, Wolseley and Indian Head and the first and third of these were discontinued after a few years of existence.<sup>2</sup> A study of their workings throws some light on the adaptability of this form of organization to the needs of the western pioneers and makes possible a comparison of its effectiveness with that of the simpler and more typical statute labour and local improvement districts. Furthermore, their organization coincided with the real beginning of the agricultural development of the North-West Territories and thus operated during the early and most difficult period. As a formal means of community co-operation they were constantly in touch with many aspects of the pioneer life. As a consequence, their activities and policies help to explain the nature of the problems of settlement and give an indication of the current local opinion as to the best methods of dealing with them.<sup>3</sup>

While most of the impetus for the enactment of Territorial legislation in 1883 providing for municipal incorporation seems to have come from urban communities, interest in organization developed quickly in rural areas as well, particularly in eastern Assiniboia.<sup>4</sup> As a result various formal petitions were forwarded to the Lieutenant-Governor.<sup>5</sup> Only the four mentioned earlier, however, actually came into existence. The Municipal Ordinance also provided for the incorporation of larger urban centres into town municipalities and to these it granted additional appropriate powers.<sup>6</sup>

Opinion regarding the formation of rural municipalities was never unanimously favourable and as time passed the opposition increased. In the revision of the Municipal Ordinance in 1884,<sup>7</sup> boundaries were fixed for a number of

<sup>1</sup> Archibald B. Clark, "Municipal Institutions," in *Canada and Its Provinces*, Vol. 20, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> *Qu'Appelle*. Erected by proclamation dated May 1, 1884, under ordinance No. 2 of 1883. It was disorganized by ordinances Nos. 30 of 1896 and 38 of 1897.

*South Qu'Appelle*. Erected by proclamation dated June 16, 1884, under ordinance No. 2 of 1883. *Wolseley*. Erected by proclamation dated August 18, 1884, under ordinance No. 4 of 1884. It was disorganized by ordinances Nos. 30 of 1896 and 38 of 1897.

*Indian Head*. Erected by proclamation dated Dec. 22, 1884, under ordinance No. 4 of 1884.

A map showing the location of these municipalities appeared in *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The description of their activities is based, except where otherwise noted, on those records which are still extant. The most important of these are council minutes, by-laws, account books, and auditors' statements. The Office of the Saskatchewan Archives is in the process of micro-filming these records.

<sup>4</sup> The first Municipal Ordinance was Ordinance No. 2 of 1883.

<sup>5</sup> *Journals of the Councils of the North-West Territories*, Session 1884, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Because the rural municipalities failed to spread, urban communities not large enough to form town municipalities were left without any way of organizing local government under the Municipal Ordinance. Their needs were met by the Unincorporated Towns Ordinance and the Village Ordinance.

<sup>7</sup> Ordinance No. 4 of 1884.



proposed municipalities in the area along the Canadian Pacific Railway from the Manitoba border to as far west as Moose Jaw. This presumably indicates that the North-West Council expected that incorporation would take place more or less automatically as settlement developed. Petitions did come in for the incorporation of two of these, Grenfell and Whitewood.<sup>8</sup> Opposition was expressed however through petitions asking for the exclusion of certain of the townships specified in the Ordinance.<sup>9</sup> In the Moosomin area also, opinion was divided.<sup>10</sup> The feeling in this and other districts was probably quite accurately expressed by a speaker at an election meeting who "considered it was unnecessary to tax the farmers at the present time as they had quite enough to do to place themselves in a position to maintain their families and carry on their farming duties. There were, however, expenses necessary for bridges, roads and ferries, but that a public grant was made by the Dominion, which, if spent judiciously and fairly divided over the whole district, might make a great improvement in these matters."<sup>11</sup> It is probably significant that settlers who had come from Manitoba, where municipal activities had left their communities burdened with debt charges, were particularly opposed to the formation of municipalities. There appear to have been no petitions for the incorporation of rural municipalities after 1885. The elaborate form of organization was generally admitted to be premature and it gradually became a dead issue.<sup>12</sup> The simple and inexpensive fire district and statute labour district forms of organization were available<sup>13</sup> and these were considered preferable both locally and by the Territorial Government. The progress of settlement was much slower than had been anticipated in the early eighties and was insufficient to bring any renewed demand for rural municipalities. In 1897 the provisions relating to erection were dropped from the Municipal Ordinance<sup>14</sup> to disencumber it, and it was stated in the Assembly at that time that incorporations were likely to be infrequent and, if necessary, could be provided for by special legislation.

The Municipal Ordinance, under which all the rural municipalities were erected, was an elaborate and detailed piece of legislation. It was amended and amplified almost yearly to improve its workability and meet new conditions. The ordinance specified the procedure by which municipalities were to be set up, size and composition of the council, qualifications of councillors and electors, conduct of elections, officials to be appointed and the manner in which their duties were to be carried out, powers granted to council and restrictions on their actions, forms of property subject to taxation and the method by which it was to be assessed, procedure to be followed in collecting taxes, amounts of poll taxes and statute labour services that might be levied, limitations upon and steps to be taken in regard to borrowing, returns to be filed with the Territorial Government, and other matters relevant to the business of the municipality. So complicated

<sup>8</sup> *Journals of the Councils of the North-West Territories*, Session of 1884, p. 10 and Session of 1885, pp. 16, 35.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Session of 1885, pp. 28, 38.

<sup>10</sup> *Moosomin Courier*, Jan. 8, Aug. 6, 1885.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 20, 1885.

<sup>12</sup> *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Nov. 17, 1887.

<sup>13</sup> See A. N. Reid, "Local Government in the North West Territories, I, A Study of the Beginnings of Rural Local Government, 1883-1905." *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-13.

<sup>14</sup> Ordinance No. 8 of 1897.



was the legislation that councillors were frequently in doubt as to their rights and responsibilities. Legal advice had to be secured regularly and law suits were numerous. The councillors appear to have been conscientious in attempting to carry out the terms of the legislation and they regularly ordered copies of the latest revised ordinances.

The business of the municipality was carried on by representative government in contrast to the direct democracy or "town meeting" system of government in the statute labour districts, unincorporated towns, and villages. The right to vote for members of council was restricted to ratepayers assessed for \$300.00 or more in 1883 and 1884 and \$200.00 thereafter. At first, voting was open, but an amendment in 1885 introduced voting by ballot and elaborate provisions were specified to ensure secrecy. Until 1894 rural municipalities were entitled to elect from five to seven councillors and these were to choose one of their number to be chairman of the council. From 1895 onward a reeve and four councillors were to be elected. For most of the period one of the qualifications for the position of councillor was the ownership of real estate assessed at not less than \$400.00. At first councillors were elected from the municipality at large but in 1888 an amendment to the Municipal Ordinance permitted the introduction of the ward system of representation. Most of the municipalities quickly adopted this as a means of ensuring that the interests of each section received attention. In spite of this there were frequent recriminations, especially as between the town and country wards, that certain parts benefitted more than others from municipal expenditures.

In the early years the great public interest in municipal government was apparent in the enthusiasm with which elections were conducted. Nomination meetings were well attended and candidates were called upon to state their views on matters of concern to the locality. There was considerable competition for council membership. In 1885 in Qu'Appelle there were 13 candidates for 7 seats and, when the results of the election were known, Samuel Cruthers, who led the poll, was carried on the shoulders of some of his constituents to the Town Hall where speeches were made.<sup>15</sup> As time passed newspapers bemoaned the decline in interest. There were few nominations and in some cases a whole set of councillors would be elected by acclamation. For the most part, public participation in municipal affairs was limited to the election of representatives. Only rarely did ratepayers act collectively. The chief occasions were the ratification of certain types of by-laws,<sup>16</sup> and the submission of petitions which were frequently presented to council by deputations.

Generally speaking, the councillors of the rural municipalities were prominent members of the community. The inclusion of urban areas made possible election of business and professional men in addition to farmers. W. D. Perley, later a member of the North-West Council, was chairman of the Wolseley council in 1885. Major Bell, who headed the large Bell Farm project, was a member of the

<sup>15</sup> *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, Jan. 8, 1885.

<sup>16</sup> The Municipal Ordinance required the assent of ratepayers, assessed for over specified amounts, to by-laws for the borrowing of money for periods longer than one year, granting bonuses to mills, manufacturing, railways, or any works of public nature exempting parties from taxation for a longer period than one year, and building, owning, or operating grist mills, elevators, and manufacturing establishments.



Indian Head council. Captain John French, who organized "French's scouts" to assist General Middleton in the 1885 Rebellion and was killed during the storming of Batoche, was a member of the Qu'Appelle council at the time. G. S. Davidson, later a prominent member of the North-West Assembly, was a councillor of South Qu'Appelle Municipality in 1886. It is noticeable that these and other less well known men were prominent as officers in such other organizations as churches, lodges, boards of trade, agricultural societies, and school districts. Such activity indicates their interest in all aspects of community life and the experience would naturally have given them a desirable acquaintance with local affairs to assist in formulating council policies.

The council meetings were conducted with considerable formality. Although the report<sup>17</sup> of the first meeting of the Indian Head Council described the councillors as being "rather green," as evidenced by the way the chairman had handled the voting on resolutions and amendments, it would appear from the minutes that business was transacted generally in a very orderly fashion. Elaborate rules of order were drawn up and rigidly adhered to and there were few cases in which errors in procedure had to be rectified.

While general policies were decided upon by the council as a whole, the actual carrying out of these policies devolved to a considerable extent upon appointed officials and committees of council. Both *ad hoc* and standing committees were appointed. Of the latter, by far the most important were the Roads and Bridges Committee and the Finance and Assessment Committee. Other standing committees varied from one municipality to another but the following were to be found in one or more of them: Education, Health and Charity; Park and Cemetery; By-Laws; Elevator; and Health, Markets and Licensing. Courts of Revision, composed of members of council, were appointed regularly. The Roads and Bridges committee was the most active in the work of administration. Typically it would make recommendations for projects, let contracts, supervise the work, and recommend relevant accounts for payment. The Finance and Assessment Committee scrutinized general accounts and presented its recommendations for payment at each meeting. The reports of these committees were normally approved as a matter of routine but occasionally the council would question a particular item and refer it for further investigation before payment.

The administrative work done by committees or individual members of the council was mostly of a supervisory character and so most of the day-to-day business of the municipality was handled by paid officials appointed by council. The original Municipal Ordinance provided for the appointment of a clerk, treasurer, assessor, collector, auditor, road-overseers, poundkeepers, constables, and "public officers and persons to enforce any provisions of this ordinance."<sup>18</sup> Subsequent amendments permitted the appointment of policemen, watchmen, and patrols,<sup>19</sup> and road commissioners.<sup>20</sup> The duties of the clerk, treasurer, assessor and collector were minutely defined. Along with the council itself, this imposing group of officials gave the municipality machinery which seemed to

<sup>17</sup> *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, March 5, 1885.

<sup>18</sup> Ordinance No. 2 of 1883, ss. 24 (11), 26 and 29.

<sup>19</sup> Ordinance No. 8 of 1888, s. 68 (6).

<sup>20</sup> Ordinance 27 of 1892, s. 40.



many at the time to be much too extensive and involved an expenditure for salaries which was considered quite out of proportion to the needs and financial capacities of the pioneer communities. Typical salary ranges were: clerk (\$100–250) treasurer (\$30–50), assessor (\$65–125) and collector (\$50–80). Public protest and the pressure to keep down taxes led the councils from time to time to attempt to economize by reducing salaries. This was difficult to do and in some cases there were no applicants at the lowered salary offered and rates had to be raised. Continued protest against the high cost of administration and finally the disorganization of two of the municipalities led the Territorial Government in 1897 to simplify the set-up. It was admitted that there was duplication of effort, particularly in handling of money.<sup>21</sup> The duties of clerk, treasurer, and collector were to be performed by a secretary-treasurer<sup>22</sup> and in 1900 it was provided that the latter could serve as assessor as well.<sup>23</sup> Original records made by these officials which have been preserved show that they were careful and painstaking. Almost no complaints were voiced except in regard to the obviously difficult job of assessing and even there they were few. The system of accounting was not entirely satisfactory by modern standards but was improved from time to time as auditors' suggestions regarding appropriate books were adopted. Altogether, one may conclude that very faithful service was rendered and that, whatever the faults of the system, inefficiency of the officials was not one.

The rural municipalities performed a great variety of functions. The powers granted to them by the Municipal Ordinance dealt mostly with the rendering of services to a rural community but provision was also made for their taking action, e.g. in the field of public health and fire protection, for the benefit of urban residents. It was anticipated, and did in fact occur, that the rural municipalities would include at least small urban areas such as the smaller townsites along the Canadian Pacific Railway. There follows a brief description of the main activities of the four rural municipalities that were formed in eastern Assiniboia.

ROADS, BRIDGES, DAMS, etc.—The provision of such public works was undoubtedly the most important function of the rural municipalities. Eastern Assiniboia developed as a mixed farming area and the settlers were never as self-sufficient as the pioneers in eastern Canada. Roads were needed to get grain to the urban centres on the main line of the Canadian Pacific and to bring back supplies of all kinds. The water-table was much higher than at the present day and this necessitated much filling of sloughs, bridging and building culverts. Transportation was especially difficult in the spring as the snow melted. The rapid run-off produced dangerous freshets unless dams were constructed. The simplest way by which the municipal councils helped was by making grants of cash or materials to groups in particular localities who undertook to complete a project. This method was characteristic chiefly of the early period. Another way was for the council to undertake the project directly. Larger projects were frequently done by contract while smaller ones were done by day labour under the supervision of the Roads and Bridges Committee. From time to time councils would allocate specified cash grants to be expended at the discretion of the councillor

<sup>21</sup> *The Leader* (Regina).

<sup>22</sup> Ordinance No. 8 of 1897, s. 112.

<sup>23</sup> Ordinance No. 23 of 1900, s. 3.



for each ward. The great bulk of the work, however, was done by the system of statute labour.

Under the statute labour system the council divided the municipality into a large number of road districts (there were 29 in South Qu'Appelle in 1887) and appointed a road overseer for each. The duties of the latter were to inform those liable as to the time and place when they were to appear and supervise their work. In some cases the selection of the work to be done was left to the overseer. The records show that statute labour was applied, in the country, to building of roads, bridges, culverts and dams, ploughing fireguards, and cutting weeds, and, in the townsites, to making drains, grading and gravelling streets, and building side-walks. Road work involved the use of only such single equipment as scrapers, costing from \$10–12, and brush plows, costing \$25. Teams were supplied by the settlers and for this they were granted extra allowance on their statute labour.<sup>24</sup> This system, though simple and inexpensive, was far from efficient, there were constant complaints about the state of the roads and attempts were made to improve its workings. In spite of such efforts the council of South Qu'Appelle municipality passed a motion in 1899 stating their opinion that the system was defective, as evidenced by the little advance that had been made in spite of the performance of upwards of 23,000 days statute labour since the beginning. As a consequence they resolved to adopt a strictly cash system.

This system had been made possible by an amendment to the Municipal Ordinance in 1897 which provided that a municipality might substitute for the statute labour a special statute labour tax of \$1.25 for each day for which a person was liable.<sup>25</sup> Commutation of statute labour had always been possible by the payment of cash at a rate fixed by the ordinance. This was \$2.00 for each day's liability until 1890 when the rate was reduced to \$1.00 a day. Except for non-residents, however, little statute labour appears to have been commuted. The new system simply made the cash payment obligatory for residents and non-residents alike. Thus the rural municipalities, like the local improvement districts, found it necessary to abandon the statute labour system, which, whatever its net advantages in the earliest stage of settlement, was apparently inadequate for the needs of a well established community.

**HERD LAW**—The problem of restraining animals from running at large was an acute one especially in a region such as eastern Assiniboia where there was both grain growing and stock raising. To keep costs down it was desirable that animals be allowed to run at large as much as possible. Yet, if they got into the grain fields before harvesting was done great damage could be done. In the townsite damage could result from animals wandering about at any time of the year. In the country areas the compromise generally agreed upon was that animals should not be allowed to run at large during the summer season. Opinions differed in regard to what were appropriate dates and these were different times in different years. The herd law restrictions applied at various times to horses, mules, jacks, sheep, goats, cattle, pigs and geese. Animals found at large contrary to the law were to be impounded. A penalty and the costs of maintenance were to be charged

<sup>24</sup> South Qu'Appelle in 1885 allowed four days statute labour for a span of horses or oxen and a wagon or plough together with a driver for one day.

<sup>25</sup> Ordinance No. 8 of 1897, s. 182.



to the owner before an animal was released and if not claimed it was to be sold and the proceeds went into the municipal treasury. Very little revenue ever accrued on this account and the system caused the councils many headaches. The municipality was divided into a large number of pound districts and a pound-keeper appointed for each. The impounding of animals quite naturally gave rise to animosities and disputes, and complaints were made of wrongful impounding and excessive charges.

**PRAIRIE FIRES**—These constituted one of the worst hazards of the early settlers. They originated in a variety of ways, such as the burning of stubble, campfires of freighters, sparks from locomotives, and being deliberately set by Indians to simplify the task of collecting buffalo bones. Often sweeping for many miles in a high wind they would cause disastrous damage, burning hay and grain while standing and in stacks, small bluffs of trees which constituted the local wood supply, and frequently homes, farm buildings and all the personal possessions of the settlers. The danger was reduced to a minimum only when the land was almost completely occupied, and as late as 1899 a deputation of ratepayers asked the South Qu'Appelle Council to use available resources for the construction of fireguards rather than roads in their locality.

Individual settlers protected themselves as best they could by making fireguards around fields, hay and grain stacks, and buildings but this was obviously a problem that could be met best by co-operative action. All levels of government participated. The North-West Mounted Police acted as fire guardians. The Territorial Government made regulations to prevent the outbreak of fire and constructed hundreds of miles of fireguards. Fire districts and statute labour districts also engaged in the latter work. The rural municipalities did not have the power to make regulations but they did take action to ensure that Territorial regulations were enforced. The chief activity of the municipality was the ploughing of firebreaks along the road allowances even when roads were not being built. A substantial amount of effort was involved as the guards had to be reworked regularly to keep them effective. While no practical width of fireguard could stop a big fire in a high wind the municipal fireguards did provide a regular series of barriers and thus held down the menace.

**WEED CONTROL**—With the breaking of the original prairie sod and extension of grain-growing, noxious weeds began to appear and without some control would have spread ruinously. The Territorial Government made regulations, e.g. regarding the disposal of screenings at elevators, but these were only partially effective. The policy of the municipalities was partly educational and partly regulatory.

By-laws were passed requiring the destruction of weeds and weed inspectors were appointed to enforce the regulations. To help inform the settlers who were not familiar with these weeds the South Qu'Appelle Council in 1896 wrote to the experimental farm for samples of mustard, stinkweed and others likely to prove troublesome and from time to time inspectors were instructed to carry such samples around with them. To ensure that the weeds were actually eliminated weed inspectors were instructed to destroy them and the cost of this was charged against the owners of the lands on which they were found. Measures were also taken to keep down weeds on the municipalities' own property.



**GOPHER CONTROL**—In proportion to its size the prairie gopher was a pest of considerable economic significance. It seemed to the early settlers that the gophers thrived and multiplied as grain growing increased. A special committee of the Territorial Assembly in 1889 found that in some districts they had destroyed up to 52% of the acreage sown in that year.<sup>26</sup> Again this was a problem that could not be solved by individual action as gophers bred just as easily on the large amounts of unoccupied land as on the occupied. The municipal councils directed their attention to this problem in their early years but greatly underestimated its magnitude. They blithely offered bounties on gophers killed. In Indian Head the result was disastrous to the municipality's finances. A bonus of two and a half cents brought a great flood of tails. Even the merchants were reported to be taking them in trade.<sup>27</sup> Apparently over \$2000.00 was expended<sup>28</sup> and the by-law was quickly repealed. It might be suggested that one reason for the lack of success of such programs was that young country boys, then as at the present time, believed that if the tails were cut off a live gopher a new one would grow. While this means of securing a steady income might prove a sad disappointment to the boys, presumably the tailless gophers would have just as great an appetite for the farmers' grain. In the face of continuing complaints about the gopher pest the councils were forced to take further action and turned to a less expensive scheme. Strychnine was bought in wholesale lots and distributed free or at cost to individual settlers. While poison did not completely eliminate the gophers it seems to have been successful in keeping this menace under control.

**PUBLIC HEALTH**—The councils of the rural municipalities were aware of the need for public health action to prevent disease. In normal times, in contrast to periods when epidemics existed or were threatened, their activities simply reflected the view that cleanliness of surroundings was the best guarantee of a healthful population. This was to be assured chiefly by the enforcement of regulations. Little was done affecting the rural districts but citizens were required to remove refuse and rubbish, keep stables and pig-stys in sanitary condition, bury dead animals, etc. The enforcement of these regulations proved to be very difficult. The local papers frequently contained editorials and letters from readers attempting to prod the council into action. The enforcement of the regulations was usually entrusted to a general utility officer variously referred to as health officer, fire and safety inspector, etc. whose duties would include also the enforcement of fire and other regulations. Such officers were usually poorly paid (South Qu'Appelle was paying \$20.00 a year in 1888) and there is almost no evidence of councils supporting an official by seeking to have the offenders convicted. As a consequence sanitary conditions undoubtedly remained very poor. On the positive side the councils provided nuisance grounds and as a part of their works program installed drains to eliminate pools of stagnant water and provide a means of carrying away the sewage from stables. The town wells were cleaned from time to time to keep the water purer. Boards of Health and Health Committees of councillors were appointed from time to time but there is no record of these

<sup>26</sup> *Journals of the Assembly of the North-West Territories*, 1st Legislature, 2nd Session (1889), pp. 90-91.

<sup>27</sup> *Qu'Appelle Progress*, May 5, 1887.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, June 28, 1888.



having been very active. In the event of epidemics, however, there was general alarm and a rush to enforce regulations and to take other measures.

RELIEF AND CHARITY—The inevitable cases of indigency and individual misfortune led to requests for assistance by the person or family concerned or by friends. No general policy seems to have been formulated and each case was treated on its particular merits. Most of the cases would have been well known to the councillors but sometimes one of them was appointed to investigate and authorized to take appropriate action. A regular succession of elderly persons were granted help in the form of provisions such as flour, beef, and wood, and medical attention and medicines were paid for. Frequently burial expenses were paid by the council. Train fare was provided for indigent persons going to the Winnipeg and other hospitals and in some cases maintenance was paid. In 1896 the Territorial government made arrangements with the Medicine Hat General Hospital to undertake the care of incurables (at 75 cents per patient per day)<sup>29</sup> and thereafter there were many instances of the local councils paying for transportation for such persons to Medicine Hat. The transfer to Medicine Hat would, however, relieve the municipality of the cost of maintenance. There were isolated examples of assistance given in other cases of misfortune. The great misfortunes affecting the community as a whole, such as crop failure, were much too serious to be met by the limited financial resources of the rural municipalities and had to be left mostly to the Dominion and Territorial Governments.<sup>30</sup> In general, the municipalities provided a buffer in hard times only by cutting down on expenditure and reducing taxes, and by not pressing too hard for those that were levied.

PROMOTION—The rapid development of the west, especially after the middle nineties, is due in no small part to vigorous promotion policies of all levels of government. Even the rural municipalities, with their limited financial resources, took steps to speed the development of the area generally and to encourage particularly needed individual enterprises. Agricultural societies were granted bonuses and liason with boards of trade seems to have been close. Space was taken in publications, e.g. *The Western World*, which publicized the west. Residents going to eastern Canada were frequently appointed immigration agents and sometimes grants were made to help defray their expenses. Charles E. Cullen, whose employment by the Territorial Government aroused hot controversy,<sup>31</sup> had a contract with the South Qu'Appelle Council in 1888 entitling him to bonuses of \$6-10 for families whose immigration should result from his visit to the British Isles and the Continent.

Such general promotional activities were not costly but the policy of bonusing individual enterprises was potentially, and in some cases actually, very expensive. In spite of the unfavourable notoriety associated with the similar policies of

<sup>29</sup> "Minutes of the Executive Committee of the North-West Territories 1885-87," p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Note, for example, the provisions of seed grain by the Dominion Government on various occasions and the road work relief program of the Territorial Government in 1885. In 1890 the Indian Head Council considered purchasing seed grain for needy settlers but decided against it. The South Qu'Appelle Council, however, did carry out such a plan in 1885. Two carloads of seed oats were purchased and distributed in amounts of 10-40 bushels to farmers needing it. Recipients had to agree to pay for it by the end of the year and the council was vigorous in seeing that this was done.

<sup>31</sup> *Journals of the Assembly of the North West Territories*, 1st Legislature, 1st Session (1888), pp. 51 ff.



Manitoba municipalities, those in the Territories were quite willing to assume heavy obligations lasting over a period of years in order to secure certain services which they felt essential to economic progress. It would appear that those who were foremost in bringing about the formation of Indian Head Municipality were the promoters of a flour mill who hoped thereby to secure a \$5000 bonus.<sup>32</sup> The South Qu'Appelle Council had a prolonged and none-too-successful struggle to secure elevator and milling facilities. In 1885 they signed an agreement with D. H. McMillan and Brother who were to build a 35,000 bushel elevator and flour mill with a capacity of 150 bbl. a day in consideration of a bonus of \$10,000 raised by the issue of debentures. The money was duly paid over and a roller mill was completed early in 1886 but the elevator never was built. In spite of strenuous efforts, the council was not able to force the McMillans to complete their share of the bargain and after a few years even the flour mill was closed. For a period of 20 years, the municipality had had to make an annual levy to cover interest on and repayment of the original debentures. For this the ratepayers really got very little in the way of facilities and the unsatisfactory results tended to discredit rural municipal organization locally and through the Territories.<sup>33</sup> The bonusing of railroad branch lines was considered at various times. Support for this was strong especially in Qu'Appelle Municipality the residents of which were at considerable distance from the main line of the Canadian Pacific. The chief proposition was the Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railroad which was to run north-easterly from the American boundary through Qu'Appelle and Fort Qu'Appelle and eventually to make connections with lines to Hudson Bay. Bonus by-laws were ratified by the ratepayers of both Qu'Appelle and South Qu'Appelle but difficulties in disposing of securities prevented the company from proceeding with construction. Altogether the experience in Assiniboia as in Manitoba would seem to indicate that there was considerable danger involved, when over optimism was so prevalent, in the provision in the Municipal Ordinance giving authority to the rural municipalities to assume heavy debenture obligations for such purposes.

**FIRE PROTECTION AND WATER SUPPLY IN TOWNSITES**—These two requisites of urban living were especially important in the growth of western towns. The typical frame construction of buildings and the great heat needed to keep them livable during the cold winters made fire a great hazard. The desire for fire protection was one of the most pressing reasons for the movements for the incorporation of the larger communities of Regina, Moose Jaw, and Calgary. Residents in the town sites included in the rural municipalities felt similarly. In the first year of South Qu'Appelle's existence there was a petition to this effect. The Council's action was typical. Regulations, such as restriction on the keeping of combustible materials within specified fire limits, were made to reduce the danger of fires being started. Furthermore, \$25 was voted for the purchase of buckets and ladders. Later on, tanks for storing water were set up at strategic points and other equipment purchased. The simple equipment which could be bought with funds available was hardly adequate to save a building once a fire was well started.

<sup>32</sup> *Qu'Appelle Progress*, March 12, 1886.

<sup>33</sup> Unsatisfactory elevator facilities eventually led South Qu'Appelle Council to build one elevator at Qu'Appelle and another at McLean. Operations began in 1902 and were continued, attended by many difficulties until 1909 when the venture was wound up.



However, it could be used successfully on small blazes and to prevent the spread of fire, and its existence undoubtedly contributed to the peace of mind of the inhabitants.

The general scarcity of water in the west posed difficulties which settlers from the east had not hitherto experienced and brought calls for public aid. The Dominion and later the Territorial Government operated well-boring equipment, which was used chiefly in the country although some town wells appear to have been bored. The latter were supplemented by wells dug by private citizens and others such as the Canadian Pacific Railway. As the communities grew the demands for water increased rapidly, which was met by the municipality having additional wells dug and pumps installed. Such facilities were adequate in the early years but eventually the communities grew to a size which made economic even a relatively costly underground water and sewer system. This stage arrived only towards the end of the Territorial period when the townsites were being established as separate jurisdictions. The construction of such a system was initiated by the South Qu'Appelle Council in 1903 just prior to the withdrawal of the townsite which in due course took over the responsibility.

**MISCELLANEOUS FUNCTIONS**—In addition to the functions already discussed, there were others assumed by the rural municipalities which otherwise would have had to be provided by voluntary organizations or foregone entirely. It was quite natural that in regard to many diverse aspects of community life the residents turned first to the municipal councils. The Municipal Ordinance gave them wide powers of action and they had considerable latitude in regard to the form and amount of revenue. They could render a much greater variety of services than a simpler form of local government such as the statute labour or local improvement district. Cemeteries and recreation grounds were established and operated. Weigh scales were provided and market days appointed. The comfort of citizens was provided for by regulations regarding the pace of riding and driving in town streets, keeping down the number of dogs (South Qu'Appelle tried a dog tax but found it difficult to collect), and keeping the streets free of obstruction. Most important of all it provided a formal means by which the opinion of the community could be organized and expressed in connection with dealings with governments and other bodies. The complaints of the councils to the Canadian Pacific Railway about their locomotives starting prairie fires and killing the cattle of residents were much more effective than would have been the complaints of local individuals or groups. They entertained distinguished visitors, made grants to Territorial hospitals, and co-operated with boards of trade and agricultural societies in matters of community interest. The Dominion Government was memorialized to grant concessions to railroad promoters, reduce the price of pre-emption, provide better police protection, and in other matters. The Territorial government was requested to pass or alter legislation affecting the well-being of the settlers generally. Such activities were very numerous and, while no single one might be considered to be of great importance, in total they were a decided advantage to the communities concerned.

**FINANCE**—As long as the bulk of the road work and other public improvements was done under the statute labour system the total cash expenditure was quite small. But securing even those modest sums caused the municipal



councils no little trouble. To relieve the local settlers attempts were made to place a considerable part of the burden upon non-resident land owners and upon the Territorial Government. In neither of these directions were they very successful. Financial assistance from the Territorial Government was confined almost entirely to occasional grants in aid of public works of fairly general interest and, after 1895, a grant of 25 cents for each day of statute labour performed. In the latter respect the rural municipalities were subsidized in the same way as statute labour districts. Non-resident owners, such as land and colonization companies, sought to secure their land from the Dominion Government under a form of contract which would make it non-taxable and even when not successful in this were most difficult to collect from. As a consequence, the cost of the services provided had to be borne mainly by settlers who in many cases had arrived with little capital and who were struggling to establish themselves under conditions which were far from prosperous. Hence the watchword of every council was rigid economy in expenditure in order that taxes might be held down. The ultimate in this was the pledge which had been made by the councillors who were elected in South Qu'Appelle in 1891 to spend no money in improvements. One result of this was a great loss suffered through the failure of dams which had not been repaired. This episode brought the council into considerable disrepute and, being widely reported tended to discredit municipal government generally.

The sources of revenue which were granted by the Municipal Ordinance were few in number, but of such nature as to make possible the spreading of the cost of local government widely even if not too equitably. The bulk of the revenue was secured by the levying of a rate. The Municipal Ordinance permitted the assessment for this purpose on land, land divided into lots, personal property and income. Certain important exemptions were allowed. School, church, public library, and government property were not to be assessed. Neither were household effects, wearing apparel and books. During various periods grain in transit and grain in the grower's possession were exempted. Originally a minimum of \$200 of personal property was exempted. This minimum was raised to \$300 in 1885, eliminated between 1888 and 1892, fixed again at \$300 in 1892 and finally dropped in 1900. Farmers' income and income derived from capital liable to taxation were exempt throughout the period. In 1895 a minimum of \$600 of personal earnings was exempted and in 1903 this was raised to \$1000.

The assessment system was such as to place as little burden as possible upon genuine settlers on the land. All land was assessed as "wild land" and thus the non-resident paid as much on his idle acreage held for speculation as the resident did on his land, which presumably had increased considerably in value by cultivation. The exemption of farm buildings favoured the farmer as against the settler in the townsite and led to recriminations from time to time. The Municipal Ordinance directed that assessment should be at "actual cash value," but this was obviously impossible to implement in a community where there was little turnover in ownership and where most of the land had been secured originally through homesteading or pre-emption. In practice little attempt was made to differentiate between the values of various parcels, except perhaps in regard to the matter of distance from town.<sup>34</sup> The bulk of the farm land was valued at between \$3.00 and

<sup>34</sup> *Qu'Appelle Progress*, Jan. 20, 1887.



\$5.00. The assessment of personal property was of much less importance than that of real property<sup>35</sup> and the burden involved was almost entirely upon town residents. Even during periods when there was no statutory provision the municipal councils exempted a certain minimum of personal property.<sup>36</sup> Although some farmers were undoubtedly assessed in this respect, as evidenced by an appeal to the South Qu'Appelle Court of Revision in 1894 that too much stock had been assessed, it would appear that the bulk of the assessment was on merchants' inventories and other tangible forms of personal property. In regard to the assessment of income, statutory exemptions and difficulties in ascertaining actual income restricted the levy to professional people and higher-salaried employees.

The levying of a flat rate of taxation on these assessments tended to make the revenue system rather regressive but the total amount that could be collected was limited. Up to 1894 the ordinance fixed a maximum levy of two cents for each dollar of assessment for all purposes other than schools and thereafter fixed the maximum rate, including that for schools, at two and a half cents on the dollar. The levy for general municipal purposes in Qu'Appelle ranged from two to four mills and in South Qu'Appelle from zero to six mills. In addition to this and to levies for interest on debentures and for local improvements, the tax bills included the school rate which was collected for the school trustees by the municipalities. The school rate was normally higher than the combined rate for other services.

Other sources of current revenue were minor and incidental to the performance of municipal functions. Licenses were required to engage in occupations such as the keeping of hotels, boarding houses, and feed and livery stables, which might require some supervision. Auctioneers, peddlers and transient traders were required to take out licenses but in the case of the last two of these the purpose appears to have been not so much the raising of revenue as the elimination of undesired competition for local business people. Most of the regulatory by-laws fixed fines for the infraction of these by-laws but very few fines were imposed.

To meet expenditures for which current revenue was insufficient the rural municipalities had recourse to borrowing. They borrowed for short periods to tide themselves over until taxes were collected and also contracted long-term indebtedness to finance the more ambitious ventures. The issuing of debentures had put Manitoba Municipalities in an unfavourable light and the Territorial Municipal Ordinance attempted to provide adequate safeguards. All by-laws for the borrowing for money not repayable within the financial year required the assent of the ratepayers. An amendment to the ordinance in 1885 provided that such by-laws were to require the assent of the Lieutenant-Governor<sup>37</sup> and in 1888 a limit of 5% of the assessed value of the assessable property was imposed.<sup>38</sup> In 1892 the limit was raised to 8% and in 1894 to 10%.<sup>39</sup> In spite of these restrictions municipal borrowing was sufficient to result later in complaints about the burden involved and in periods of enthusiasm the local residents approved projects which if they had materialized would have involved additional indebtedness.

<sup>35</sup> South Qu'Appelle in 1887 assessed \$864,480 of real property and \$47,480 of personal property.

<sup>36</sup> Indian Head in 1890 exempted \$400.00 worth (*Qu'Appelle Progress*, Feb. 28, 1890) and Qu'Appelle exempted \$200.00 worth in 1889 and again in 1891.

<sup>37</sup> Ordinance No. 2 of 1885, s. 194 (6).

<sup>38</sup> Ordinance No. 8 of 1888, s. 166.

<sup>39</sup> Ordinance No. 27 of 1892 s. 13, and ordinance No. 3 of 1894, Part 6, s. 5.



CONCLUSIONS—As stated earlier, the enthusiasm for creating new rural municipalities had passed by 1886. In the years following, the desirability of the existing ones was questioned from time to time and by the middle 'nineties active movements had developed for the disorganization of Qu'Appelle and Wolseley. The prime consideration was that the expense involved was out of all proportion to the benefits conferred. Public works had been the chief activity and it was asserted that even the expenditure of large amounts of tax revenue had not produced better results than were to be found in unorganized areas where all essentials were provided by the Territorial Government.<sup>40</sup> The size of the municipalities involved difficulties, as in the case of Wolseley where residents of the eastern part, whose natural market was Grenfell (just outside the municipal boundary) complained that they were outvoted and compelled to contribute to improvements which would benefit those whose market was in the town of Wolseley.<sup>41</sup> Divergence of interest between residents in the rural areas and those in the growing urban centres of Wolseley and Fort Qu'Appelle made a single government unit unsatisfactory. Opinion was not entirely unfavourable, however, either among local residents<sup>42</sup> or members of the Assembly<sup>43</sup>. Some regarded the substitution of statute labour districts as a retrograde step. The supporters of municipal government, however, were outnumbered. Residents of Qu'Appelle voted 144 to 36 in favour of disbanding and in Wolseley an overwhelming proportion signed petitions for disorganization. On the basis of these indications of local desires the Assembly passed the ordinances necessary to transform the areas into statute labour districts. The Municipalities of Indian Head and South Qu'Appelle continued in existence throughout the Territorial period, and, perhaps because of more favourable economic conditions in the later years, appear to have been able to carry on more successfully than in their initial stages.

In retrospect, the experience of the rural municipalities seems to suggest that local government was not of vital importance in the progress of agricultural settlement in the North-West Territories. Unorganized areas do not appear to have been at any great disadvantage and certainly were not felt to be so at the time. Compared with such things as the policies of the Dominion Government, improvements in agricultural equipment and practice, the world market for wheat, and the weather, the form and even the existence of rural local government was a relatively minor matter. When conditions were favourable on these accounts agricultural development was rapid. But when such favourable circumstances did finally come about, local government did have an important part to play in the life of rural communities. The great agricultural boom had no more than gotten under way when the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were formed. Hence, essentially, the importance of the rural municipalities in the Territorial period was not in regard to their actual accomplishments but rather to their providing experience which was invaluable in planning and establishing the extensive system of rural local government which was to come.

A. N. REID

<sup>40</sup> *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, June 6, 1895.

<sup>41</sup> Petition to Territorial Assembly (Sessional Papers, 1896, unpublished. Legislative Assembly Office, Regina.).

<sup>42</sup> *Qu'Appelle Vidette*, May 30, 1895 and Jan. 9, 1896.

<sup>43</sup> *The Standard* (Regina), Oct. 15, 1896.



## ARCHIVAL STUDIES

### The Reports of the Board of Education

THE changes in the relation of the state to education in the North-West Territories between 1880 and 1893 exhibit a rapid transition from a system of government aid to private schools to a system of government supervised public and separate schools. The participation of the Territorial Government in educational affairs began in 1880, when the Government began to pay half the teacher's salary in any school having a minimum daily attendance of fifteen pupils.<sup>1</sup> The disbursement of this money was directed by the Lieutenant Governor, as the executive head of the Territorial Government. The schools thus assisted had been established under private auspices, and it was not until 1884 that Territorial legislation permitted the organization of tax supported public and separate schools, and defined the role of the Territorial Government in educational matters.<sup>2</sup>

The supervision of the new educational system presented a special problem to the lawmakers of the time, and the solution adopted seems to indicate that several distinct motives influenced them. To have placed complete control of education in the hands of the Territorial executive would have meant making the Lieutenant Governor an educational czar, since the North-West Council usually met only once a year. Nor would the Lieutenant Governor and his small staff have been able to cope with the complicated details of educational policy, such as the curriculum and teacher certification; under the ordinance of 1884 they had sufficient to do in connection with supervising the erection of school districts, changing schools' district boundaries, paying grants, and approving of debenture issues. Consequently the ordinance provided for the appointment of an administrative board by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, to be known as the Board of Education. The fact that the Board was to be composed of a certain number of Roman Catholics and Protestants, and that its Roman Catholic and Protestant "sections" were to have certain independent powers, indicates that another reason for its creation was the desire to permit the exercise of ecclesiastical influence on the curriculum and administration of the schools. In this respect the legislation was inspired by the system existing in Manitoba and Quebec.

During the seven years of its existence, the membership and powers of the Board and of its Roman Catholic and Protestant sections were changed several times, the general tendency being to increase the authority of the Board and decrease that of its sections. The year 1892, which saw the transfer of many of the powers of the Lieutenant Governor to an executive committee responsible to the Legislative Assembly, also marked the beginning of a new era in educational administration. The new democratic structure of the Territorial executive, the

<sup>1</sup> The funds for this purpose and the authority to disburse them were given to the Territorial Government by a Dominion Order in Council of November 4, 1880; see Department of the Interior, Dominion Lands Branch File No. 85869 (transcript in Archives of Saskatchewan).

<sup>2</sup> The first Territorial school ordinance was ordinance No. 5 of 1884. The North-West Council did not have an entirely free hand in drafting school legislation, being obliged under section 11 of the North-West Territories Act of 1875 to permit the establishment of separate schools.



availability of professional educators who could be employed to supervise educational policy, and the pressure for a greater degree of uniformity in educational standards irrespective of the religion of the pupils, led to the replacement of the Board of Education by a new body, the Council of Public Instruction. The Council, though including representatives of the Protestant and Roman Catholic faiths in an advisory capacity, was controlled by the executive committee.

Despite its brief existence, the Board of Education played an important part in inaugurating the school system in that part of the North-West Territories which later became the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Board, or its sections, controlled the examination, grading and licensing of teachers, selected text books and formulated the curriculum, regulated the construction and furnishing of school buildings, specified the duties of teachers and pupils, and supervised the inspection of schools. The implementation of the Board's policies devolved upon the inspectors of schools and upon the Secretary of the Board, James Brown. The Secretary's letter books reveal that he also assisted the Lieutenant Governor in those phases of educational administration which were not under the control of the Board, and in truth Brown deserves, though he never received, the title of first deputy minister of education in the North-West.<sup>3</sup>

Most of the records of the Board of Education have met the same dismal fate as many other Territorial Government documents. Of those which have escaped the ravages of poor storage conditions and careless custody are the six annual reports published by the Board—for the years 1885-86 to 1890-91 inclusive. Among matters included in the reports are regulations of the Board, the contents and results of teachers' examinations, descriptions of problems of educational administration, and statistics on schools. From the first report, those sections of the list of schools in operation which are of interest to Saskatchewan readers are reproduced in the following pages.<sup>4</sup> They contain the names of the first school inspectors and the pioneer teachers who staffed the earliest tax supported schools in Saskatchewan.

LEWIS H. THOMAS

<sup>3</sup> James Brown was later the Secretary of the Council of Public Instruction, and still later an official of the Department of Education of the Province of Saskatchewan. He retired from the public service in 1916.

<sup>4</sup> The sections of the list printed here include all the schools in the provisional districts of Assiniboia and Saskatchewan. The figures on the numbers of pupils present on the day of inspection have not been included.



# PROTESTANT SCHOOLS IN PRINCE ALBERT DISTRICT. Rev. CANON FLETT, Inspector

Name of District	No.	Name of Teacher	Class of Certificate	No. of Pupils on Register	P. O. Address	General Tone of Inspector's Report
*Prince Albert	3	J. F. A. Stull	1st	69	Prince Albert	Very good.
*St. Andrews	8	Wm. Gerrond	Pro.	53	do.	Very good results.
*Colleston	9	V. R. C. Hutcheson	Pro.	19	do.	Good.
*Prince Albert East	10	Miss G. C. Hutchinson	Pro.	33	do.	Very good.
*Saskatoon	13			45	Saskatoon	Good; School closed temporarily; no teacher.
Red Deer Hill	17	Hugh Roger	2nd	19	Prince Albert	Very good; many pupils absent owing to prevalence of whooping cough.
*St. Catharines	18	Miss R. McGregor	Pro.	43	do.	Good.
Lindsay	44	Rev. H. W. Atwater	2nd	61	Kirkpatrick	Very good.
Kinisteno	42	S. M. Marsh	Pro.	13	Kinisteno	Very fair.
*Island Lake	44	J. C. Slater	2nd	19	Prince Albert	Good.
		No. of Schools in operation, 10. No. of Pupils on Register, 374.				
		PROTESTANT SCHOOL IN BATTLEFORD DISTRICT. P. G. LAURIE, Inspector.				
*Battleford	71			34	Battleford	
		R. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN PRINCE ALBERT DISTRICT. Rev. FATHER ANDRE, Inspector.				
Bellevue	1 C.P.				Batoche	Not open.
*Stobart	8 C.P.	Rev. Z. Touze	Pro.	22	Stobart	Very encouraging.
*St. Laurent	9 C.P.	Rev. Pere Fourmond	1st	26	St. Laurent	Excellent.
*Lourdes	10 C.P.	Octave Regnier	2nd	14	St. Louis de Langevin	Good.
		No. of schools in operation, 3. No. of pupils on Register, 62.				
		R. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN ASSINIBOIA. No Inspector at present.				
*Lebret	12 C.P.	E. F. Guainans	Pro.	51	Ft. Qu'Appelle	
*Benbecula	2 C.S.	Rev. Father Gillies	1st	27	Wapella	
		No. of Schools in operation, 2. No. of Pupils on Register, 78.				
		R. CATHOLIC SCHOOL IN BATTLEFORD DISTRICT. E. RICHARD, Inspector.				
*St. Vital of Battleford	12 C.P.	Miss Dorval	1st	60	Battleford	Very favorable.

\*Schools open for both terms.



# PROTESTANT SCHOOLS IN WESTERN ASSINIBOIA. THOS. GROVER, Inspector.

Name of District	No.	Name of Teacher	Class of Certificate	No. of Pupils on Register	P. O. Address	General Tone of Inspector's Report
*Moose Jaw	1	Jas. N. McDonald	2nd	76	Moose Jaw	Highly satisfactory.
*Qu'Appelle	2	J. W. Peters	2nd	83	Qu'Appelle Station	Excellent.
*Regina	4	D. S. McCannell	2nd	164	Regina	Most encouraging,—saw marked improvement since former visit.
		Miss M. Kerr	2nd			Very good.
*Kenlis	6	Miss E. J. Douglas	3rd	15	Kenlis	Good.
*Wolseley	25	Mrs. R. L. Alexander	2nd	45	Wolseley	Encouraging.
*Fort Qu'Appelle	26	Miss V. E. Burns	Pro.	20	Fort Qu'Appelle	Fair. Former teacher away on day of inspection.
Maple Green	28	Miss M. Armstrong	Pro.	28	Kenlis	Children progressing fairly. Inspector recommends that this School amalgamate with some neighboring District, owing to small number of resident pupils.
Wascana	29	Since date of inspection Miss S. Cowan	Pro.	10	Via Regina	Very good.
						Very good.
Round Plain	30	Edward Fee	2nd	19	Wishart	Very fair.
Poplar Grove	31	H. A. Ross	3rd	11	Wolf Creek	Very good.
*Thistle	32	Mrs. J. H. Moore	Pro.	13	Summerberry	Very fair.
Summerbury	33	J. F. Middlemiss	2nd	19	do.	Very good.
Summerhill	34	T. D. Acheson	3rd	29	do.	Very good.
Westfield	35	Robt. G. Fleming	None	17	do.	Not very encouraging. Teacher without any experience.
Greenville	36	Miss Fotheringham	Pro.	8	Wolf Creek	Very fair.
Abbottsford	37	A. T. Fotheringham	2nd	29	do.	Good.
Mount Pleasant	39	Miss U. Bulyea	2nd	20	Edgeley Farm	Good,—most encouraging.
*Bonnycastle	40	E. A. Partridge	3rd	32	Katepwe	Highly satisfactory.
Pheasant Forks	48	John W. Kenyon	Pro.	25	Pheasant Forks	Good.
*Indian Head	49	Miss C. Barnes	2nd	36	Indian Head	Encouraging.
Spring Brook	50				Fort Qu'Appelle	Not open.
Caron	52	Miss R. Alexander	Pro.	14	Caron	Good.
*Wide Awake	54	Miss C. Powell	3rd	25	Indian Head	Encouraging.
Spring Coulee	59	H. O. Partridge	Pro.	15	Sintaluta	Very encouraging.
McLean	61				McLean	Not open.
Pasqua	63	J. Brookfield	Pro.	15	Pasqua	Moderate.
Boggy Creek	64	A. McKellar	Pro.	15	Via Regina	Fair progress being made.
Prospect	65	Miss F. B. McDougall	Pro.		Grenfell School	Very discouraging. Closed on the 7th August, teacher having left.
Tregarva	66	Miss E. A. F. Boulding	Pro.	13	Via Regina	Only moderate progress being made.
Victoria Plains	67	S. B. Jameson	2nd	20	Via Regina	Healthy and encouraging.
Lake View	68	Miss L. Cowan	Pro.	8	Craven P.O. via Regina	Fair progress.
Red Fox Valley	72				Sintaluta	Not open.
*Medicine Hat	76	J. Drinnan		102	Medicine Hat	Just proclaimed.

\*Schools open for both terms

No. of Schools in operation, 29.

No. of Pupils on Registers, 926.



# PROTESTANT SCHOOLS IN EASTERN ASSINIBOIA. J. HEWGILL, Inspector.

Name of District	No.	Name of Teacher	Class of Certificate	No. of Pupils on Register	P. O. Address	General Tone of Inspector's Report
Broadview	5	Mrs. A. Painter	None	34	Broadview	Very unsatisfactory.
Wapella	11	Miss G. E. Dodson	3rd	25	Wapella	Very fair.
*Moosomin	12	Thos. Dickie	2nd	65	Moosomin	Good.
*Little Pipestone	14	J. W. McPhail	Pro.	23	Glen Adelaide	Good.
Montgomery	15	Not open			Montgomery	
*St. John	16	H. Newmarch	Pro.	16	Whitewood	Fair.
*Park	20	J. C. Callin	Pro.	20	Whitewood	Very fair.
*Eden Grove	21	Miss Clara Givin	Pro.	15	Wapella	Fair.
Rocanville	22	Not open.			Rocanville	Inspector reports school not open, but a log school house is now in course of erection.
Revine Bank	27	R. McMillan	Pro.	32	Wapella	Very fair.
*Sunnymead	38	Miss M. Huckerby	Pro.	23	Via Whitewood	Fair.
Hillburn	43	Miss R. A. Webster	Pro.	21	Hillburn	Fair.
Fleming	45	J. Young	3rd	24	Fleming	Very encouraging.
Fairfield	46	Miss Nellie Jaffray	Pro.	19	Fleming	Very satisfactory.
Faulkner	53	C. E. Cummins	Pro.	12	Grenfell	Good.
Meadow Lea	55	Mrs. J. McNiece	Pro.	9	Broadview	Very fair.
Lansdowne	56	T. J. Irwin	Pro.	14	Broadview	Fair.
*Whitewood	57	Miss L. M. Moffatt	Pro.	24	Whitewood	Very fair.
Ivy	58	Not open.			Rocanville	Inspector does not think this district will be opened for some time.
Buffalo Head	60	Miss M. Jefferson	Pro.	14	Carlyle	Very fair.
Rillington	62	Mrs. A. Reeve	Pro.	17	Grenfell	Fair.
Dalesboro	69	School House being erected			Dalesboro	Not open.
Golden Plain	70				Sunnymead	Not open.
Kinbrae	73				Kinbrae	Just proclaimed.
Derry Grove	74				Fairmeade	Just proclaimed.

\*Schools open for both terms

No. of Schools in operation, 18.

No. of Pupils on Registers, 407.



## TALES OF WESTERN TRAVELLERS

### Henry Kelsey

**H**ENRY KELSEY, the first white man to penetrate as far west as the Saskatchewan prairies, was born about 1670. Although the exact date of his birth cannot be accurately determined one is inclined to accept 1670 if only for the fact that in this same year the Hudson's Bay Co., of which he was later an employee, was incorporated. The two events, apparently coinciding as they do, presage a partnership which was to leave its mark upon the great lone land of northern and western America.

The story of Henry Kelsey remained in obscurity for many years. True, there was a Kelsey tradition but not one that was destined to throw much credit either upon him or upon the Company. The traditional story vouched for by Arthur Dobbs,<sup>1</sup> writer, explorer and inveterate enemy of the Hudson's Bay Co., was that Kelsey as a boy had run away from the stern discipline of Governor Geyer at York Fort, and in order to cover up this episode the Company had fabricated the account of his journeyings from the mouth of the Hayes River into the hinterland. By such a tale, the critics of the Company intimated, the officials hoped to cover up their failure to explore the vast regions claimed by the Company charter. Dobbs and his associates anticipated that this exposure and others of a similar nature would break the monopoly that the Company held in these vast reaches of the North-West. In this, they were disappointed—they did, however, succeed admirably in discrediting the name of Henry Kelsey for nearly two centuries.

The discovery of the Kelsey Papers in 1926 amongst a collection of documents presented to the Public Record Office of Northern Ireland by Major A. F. Dobbs, a descendent of Arthur Dobbs, has now vindicated the Company's contention and rescued Henry Kelsey from relative oblivion. In these papers are found not only the account of his journey to the prairies in 1690-1692 but a considerable outline of his activities from the time he entered the service of the fur trading company until the last record is made of him thirty-eight years later. Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin in their introduction to *The Kelsey Papers* suggest that this material must have come into the possession of Dobbs after he had made his most bitter attacks upon the Company and their acquisition may have been responsible for his failure to embroil himself further.

Henry Kelsey entered the service of the Hudson's Bay Company at the age of fourteen, and four years later in 1688, because of his eagerness for adventure and his ability to make friends with the Indians, was chosen for the task of inland exploration. In 1689, he was given his first assignment of making contact with the Indians in the territory surrounding the new post at Churchill. From his journal we obtain a first hand account of this exploration. An interesting example

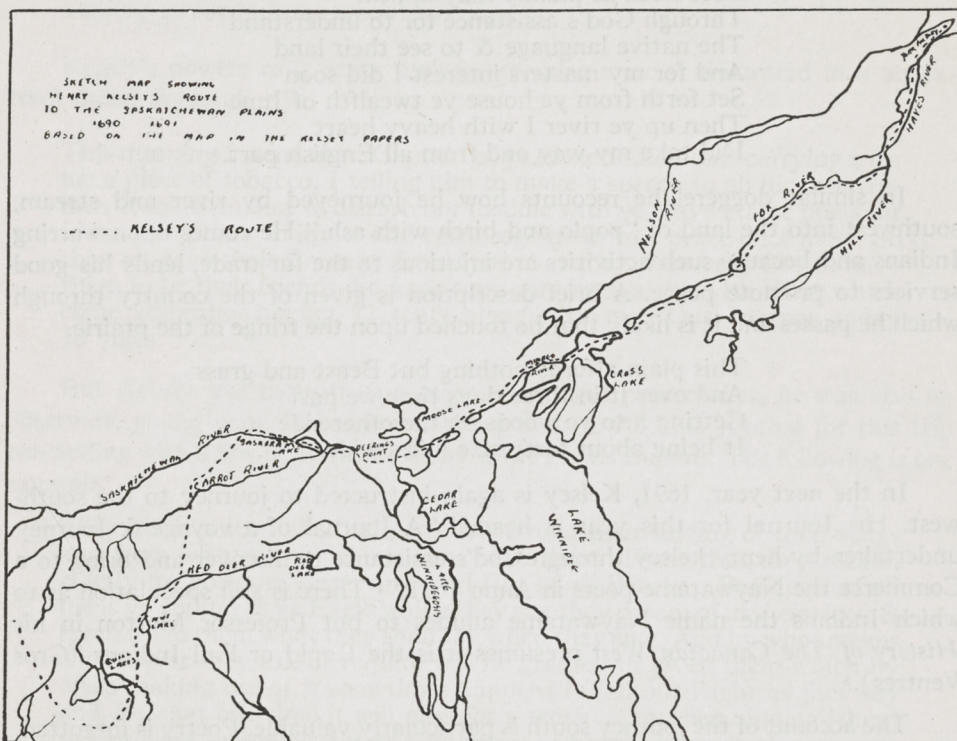
<sup>1</sup> Also supported by Joseph Robson in his *Account of Six Years Residence in Hudson's Bay*, London, 1752.



of his observation is the description of the encounter with the musk ox, which he calls a buffalo:

... in ye evening spyed two Buffilo. Left our things & pursued them. We killed one. They are ill shaped beast, their Body being bigger than an ox, leg and foot like ye same but not half so long, a long neck & head [like] a hog, their horns not growing like other Beast but Joyn together upon their forehead & so come down ye side of their Head and turn up till ye tips be Even with ye Buts. Their Hair is near a foot long . . . <sup>2</sup>

This venture into the Barren Lands was not too successful. Although he proceeded two hundred miles north of Churchill, he was never at any time far



distant from the sea. In the end Thomas Savage, his Indian guide, refused to go further, claiming that Kelsey was not sensible of the dangers. The pair subsequently returned.

The next year (1690) Henry Kelsey was commissioned by the Company to journey into the hinterland "to the country of the Assinae Poets to invite the remoter Indians to trade with it."<sup>3</sup> The route which Kelsey followed is not by any means clearly defined in the Journal but it would appear that he went up the Hayes River to where it joins the Fox, up the south branch of the Fox into Cross

<sup>2</sup> *The Kelsey Papers*, Public Archives of Canada and Public Records Office of Northern Ireland, Ottawa, 1929. pp. 27-28. The writer has taken the liberty of punctuating to some extent the extracts taken from the *Papers*.

<sup>3</sup> A. S. Morton, *A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71*, Toronto, 1939. p. 111. Professor Morton adds that the name "poets" which Kelsey uses is his version of the Chippewa *Bwan*, the Cree *Pwat*, the names given to the Sioux.



Lake, through the western extension of the lake into Minago River, from its source into Moose Lake and so to the Saskatchewan. Somewhere, likely a few miles south of the present site of The Pas,<sup>4</sup> Kelsey set up a base camp which he named Deering's Point after the Deputy Governor of the Company.

Kelsey tells the story of this journey in verse which merits him not only the glory of being the first white man to venture so far inland but also the less recognized honour of being the first western poet. The following excerpt is an example of what the reader must expect of Kelsey's poetry:

In sixteen hundred & ninety'th year  
I set forth as plainly may appear  
Through God's assistance for to understand  
The native language & to see their land  
And for my masters interest I did soon  
Set forth from ye house ye tweelfth of June  
Then up ye river I with heavy heart  
Did take my way and from all English part.<sup>5</sup>

In similar doggerel he recounts how he journeyed by river and stream, southwest into the land of "poplo and birch with ash." He comes upon warring Indians and because such activities are injurious to the fur trade, lends his good services to promote peace. A brief description is given of the country through which he passes and it is likely that he touched upon the fringe of the prairie.

This plain affords nothing but Beast and grass  
And over it in three days time we past  
Getting into ye woods on the other side  
It being about forty six miles wide.<sup>6</sup>

In the next year, 1691, Kelsey is again instructed to journey to the southwest. His Journal for this year is headed "A Journal of a voyage & Journey undertaken by henry kelsey through God's assistance to discover and bring to a Commerce the Naywatame poets in Anno 1691."<sup>7</sup> There is still speculation as to which Indians the name Naywatame alludes to but Professor Morton in his *History of The Canadian West* presumes it is the Rapid or Fall Indians (Gros Ventres).<sup>8</sup>

The account of the journey south is particularly valuable. Poetry is forgotten, instead the entries are in prose, regular and fairly detailed. On this trip it appears Kelsey passed upstream from Deering's Point, through Saskeram Lake, portaged over to the Saskatchewan again, and thence by foot over to the Carrot River. By July 30, he was on the Red Deer River where he met some Eagle Hill Creek Indians from the elbow of the North Saskatchewan. These had wandered over to engage in trade. As far as one is able to judge, it is likely that Kelsey moved southwestward from here, probably past Nut Lake and into the parkland of the Wadena—Quill Lake—Humboldt area, thence into the prairie region and then into the wooded Touchwood Hills. The winter was likely spent on the prairies north east

<sup>4</sup> Professor Morton places Deering's Point 12 miles below the present site of The Pas.

<sup>5</sup> *Kelsey Papers*, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Morton, *op. cit.* p. 113.



of what is now Saskatoon. During the whole journey Kelsey was busily employed encouraging the various Indian tribes, Assiniboinés, Sioux, Cree and others to take their furs to York Fort. In this it appears he was eminently successful.

There were of course difficulties. Hunger, difficulties of travel and warring natives being the chief obstacles. On July 23 we find the following extract:

Now about noon one Indian returned back fearing lest ye women should starve which were behind so I gave him some powder & an order to receive some shott ... I proceeded forward along with a little slave Boy & toward night we came to a good footing for all that we had passed before was heavy mossy going. So in the evening we came too distance 30 mile and nothing to eat but one wood partridge.<sup>9</sup>

Kelsey's powers as a peace maker were also vividly illustrated in an extract dated September 9:

This morning I went to ye Captain of ye stone Indian tent carrying with me a piece of tobacco, I telling him to make a speech to all his countrymen & tell them not to disturb nor meddle with ye Naywatame poets for I was going back to invite and encourage them to a peace once more. So they all gave their Consent & told me that they were very free to have them to be their friends. So I took my way back along with those which came yesterday having 12 tents along with me. Our Journey today 18 miles.<sup>10</sup>

But Kelsey was more than a mere trader and peacemaker, he was also an observant young man. It is not surprising then to find his Journal for this trip concluding with a few of his impressions of the Plains Indians. The following is one example:

Their sixth point I shall relate is concerning their singing of their songs and from whence they think they have them. Those that they reckon chiefly for gods are Beast and fowl But of all Beast ye Buffilo & of all fowls ye vouter & ye Eagle which they say they dream of in their sleep & it relates to them what they shall say when they sing. And by what means whatsoever they ask or require will be granted or given them which by often making use of it sometimes happens to fall out Right as they say and for that one time it will pass for a truth ... by their singing [they] will pretend to know what ye firmament of heaven is made of, nay some Indians which I have discoursed with has told me that he has been so near to the sun at ye going down that he ... could take hold of when it Cut ye Horizon. Likewise they would pretend to tell me by their singing how things stood at ye factory when I was many hundred miles of along with them but I found it not true ...<sup>11</sup>

The trip of 1691-92 is the most important as far as prairie regional history is concerned and it does not appear from subsequent entries in the Journal or from records of the Hudson's Bay House that Kelsey ever retraced his steps in that direction.

<sup>9</sup> *Kelsey Papers*, p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.



According to the Minute Books and Letter Books of the Hudson's Bay Company, however, Kelsey continued to serve in various phases of the trade until 1722. In that year the following instruction was issued to him:

Capt. Kelsey, you having now been 8 years in our service 4 of which you were Dept. Govt. and 4 years Governor, at ye York Fort, Wee think it Convenient to Call you home & accordingly Expect you by return of ye Mary Friggt, Capt. Jas. Belcher Commanding, having appointed Mr. Thos. Maclish in your stead, to whom you are to deliver possession of our Fort & Country as soon as you shall arrive on Shoar, & Wee have order'd Mr. Maclish to show you all possible repect untill ye departure of our ship for England.<sup>12</sup>

In 1724 records show that Kelsey applied to the Company for command of a ship. This is the last direct mention that is made of him although six years later (1730) an application by Elizabeth Kelsey, widow of Captain Henry Kelsey for a gratuity to enable her to put her son under an apprenticeship was granted. Thus Kelsey must have died sometime between 1724 and 1730.

Henry Kelsey's success as an explorer was unique, for the work which he had so ably started was not continued until well into the middle of the eighteenth century. There is no ready explanation for this except that Kelsey by adopting native modes of travel and by learning the language found a key to the new regions which remained closed to less pertinacious and resourceful adventurers.

Unfortunately, except for his *Papers* there is no enduring monument to Henry Kelsey. His was a hard life and like many other adventurers he amassed no great fortune.<sup>13</sup> Some lines he penned in 1690 concerning his first trip to the southwest might well have been written in 1724 when he disappears from the contemporary scene:

Now Reader Read for I am well assured  
Thou dost not know the hardships I endur'd  
In this same desert where Ever yet I've been  
Nor wilt thou me believe without yet thou had seen  
The Emynent Dangers that did often me attend  
But still I lived in hopes yet once it would amend  
And make me free from hunger and from cold  
Likewise many other things which I cannot here unfold . . .<sup>14</sup>

A. F. BROADBRIDGE

<sup>12</sup> Hudson's Bay Company Minute Book, quoted in the introduction to the *Kelsey Papers* by Arthur G. Doughty and Chester Martin p. XXXI.

<sup>13</sup> In addition to the gratuity mentioned above, a further sum of £6-6-0 was allowed to the widow in 1734 to be used for clothes for the son. See *Kelsey Papers* pp. XXXII-XXXIII.

<sup>14</sup> *Kelsey Papers* p. 1.



RECOLLECTIONS AND REMINISCENCES—Seward T. St. John

III

**Mrs. St. John's Diary**

January 2, 1903 to March 30, 1904

1903

*January 2*—Wash, and churn 6 lbs. of butter. Hens are laying two eggs a day.

*January 12*—Nice winter day. Seward and Otto go to Milestone for groceries, I send 10 lbs. of butter to trade for our needs.

*January 19*—The worst blizzard of the season rages. Can't see the barn. Seward goes to milk but fails to return when breakfast is ready. Fearing something may have happened to him, I bundle myself up and start for the cow shed, groping my way. Find the storm has drifted the door shut and he is imprisoned and no way to get out as the walls are frozen solid. I shovel him out and we find our way back to the house.

*February 6*—Beautiful morning. Seward goes to store for shingle nails, Sorenson comes for a load of lumber, the men shingle some on the house in p.m. Ethan, Seward's brother, comes from Nebraska to visit us.

*February 10*—Bright warm day. Thaws a great deal. Sorenson and Kennedy are here and the men almost complete shingling the house. Begins to snow about 11 p.m.

*February 11*—A blizzard rages all day. I churn 4 lbs. butter and iron. Seward and Ethan work in the barn making door frames for the house.

*February 12*—Bright and warm. Seward and Ethan make window frames for the house. About dark the wind raises and a blizzard rages all night.

*February 14*—45° below, Mr. Sorenson rides the pony to town—pony gets away from him and he had to walk home.

*February 21*—Seward, Ethan and Otto go to Regina. I wash and do the chores at night, I am alone all night.

*February 22*—Washington's birthday. Wind changes during night, snow falls and morning brings a blizzard. Wind subsides in the afternoon and nothing but peace and quiet reigns,—a freight passes and leaves another car of coal at Wilcox. Men have not returned. Alone again tonight.

*February 23*—Chinook wind prevails, I am still alone—men return about 4 p.m.

*March 4*—One of the Hunt girls was married today—first wedding in Wilcox district.

*March 6*—Mr. Lundrigan, a new homesteader arrives. Seward does some work on our house.

*March 11*—Unpleasant day. The house is now enclosed and the roof on, the men move the furniture from the hay stack and store it in the house. I finish my center piece,—wash and iron it.



*March 16*—First car of farm machinery arrives. Seward has the agency for it.

*March 28*—First spring shower—three antelope arrive and remain several days, one of them came in the yard and played with our calf.

*March 30*—Another spring day. I rake the yard. Seward goes to Downings for seed oats, gets home after dark, churn 3 lbs. butter, gather 14 eggs.

*March 31*—Snows all gone. Meadow larks are singing. Hawks flying about, crocus in bloom, and the cows drink out of the slough. Men working in the field, the feeling of spring fills the air.

*April 4*—Sam Kennedy has been working on the well again and struck eleven feet of water but it is not even fit for stock.

*April 9*—One year ago we landed at Wilcox. John Lundrigan's family arrives today to occupy their homestead with Sorenson's family 5 miles north of us. A prairie fire starts at Buck Lake, east of us, and travels southward, we watch it all night.

*April 10*—Wind changes—we become anxious about the fire. At 10 a.m. fire is so near, all work is abandoned and we are watching the prairie, while we are at dinner the wind changes to the northeast and the fire is upon us, burning all the country for miles around.

*April 12*—Mr. Christy takes Otto and his divining rod, down to his place to witch for water. Mr. Lundrigan brings us the sad news that our hay—over one hundred tons—which our men put up in the big slough last fall—was all destroyed by the fire, day before yesterday.

*April 14*—A most terrific wind blows, Seward goes to town for lumber. Last night we could read a newspaper by the reflection in the sky, from the prairie fire which is still raging in the big swamps 30 miles south of us. It is a fearful sight.

*April 16*—The Sorenson and Saunders' families arrive to take up homesteading with Lundrigans.

*April 17*—Wind has changed to north and while Sorenson and Lundrigan are unloading their furniture at Wilcox, a terrific fire is coming from the north—knowing the three families, who had just arrived, were without help and inexperienced with prairie fires, Seward threw the saddle on our pony while I got him a pocket full of matches—it was a race between he and the fire. Seward won the race but nearly killed the pony, he found the women and children in a huddle at the side of the house, bewildered and offering up prayers—he gave each one matches and they succeeded in backfiring enough to save the house, although the barn caught fire, but they put this out with water from a nearby slough.

*April 20*—Seward's 38th birthday. He celebrates by working hard all day.

*April 22*—Seward and Otto are floating the oat field, they have two oxen and two horses hitched up together, once again necessity becomes the mother of invention.



- May 9*—A terrific wind blowing and the tent in which Mr. Davis and family are living is blown away. Mr. Davis came over to our shack—which seems to be the rendezvous for everyone in trouble. Providing Mr. Davis and his boy would haul out the lumber today, Seward—"The Scientific Carpenter of the Colony"—offered to take the pony, round up the Colony and build him a house tomorrow (Sunday).
- May 10*—Sunday—bright and early the neighbors arrived, Seward planned the work, the others with saws and hammers put it together, while Mrs. Davis and I prepared the coffee and lunch. The men did not stop for dinner but worked in shifts. When night came, the building, 16 x 32, was completed, roof and all, the family moved in. When they complete their house later, this building will be used for a barn.
- June 7*—Mosquitoes arrived but the prairie has been burned off so they are not as bad as last year—they couldn't be.
- June 9*—Freeze ice  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch thick.
- June 13*—First Red Tail Deer arrives and stays around for a week, coming up every night to sleep in our yard.
- July 19*—First fried chicken—mosquitoes terrible.
- July 27*—Seward goes to Milestone for groceries—takes 19 lbs. of butter.
- August 8*—When Seward was in Canada in 1901, he purchased Indian Script from Mr. Geo. W. Brown for a half section of land, paying him \$240.00 and filed it on East  $\frac{1}{2}$  of Section 28 adjoining our homestead. Today he sold it to Mr. McCulloch of Iowa for \$2500.00 in gold which the man brought with him in a sack. Now we will have some money to buy horses and machinery, and finish our house.
- August 16*—Our first cyclone—we took to the cave.
- August 25*—Purchased our first binder. Seward sells three more to neighbors.
- September 4*—Frost kills all my garden and flowers.
- September 7*—Seward goes to Regina. The McArthurs call during the day. I wash, am alone at night. Not a custom of mine, but decided to leave clothes on line all night. Wind comes up and clouds over. I get up, and with a lighted lantern bring the clothes in and close barn doors. Clouds do not look friendly, go into the cave which is infested with tree toads. Not relishing the thought of them dropping down my back—put on a wide brimmed sun hat. Sitting up on the back of a chair, holding lantern in front of me—in order to spot Mr. Toad—would have presented quite a scene had some one opened the cave door. Here was I, over two miles from my nearest neighbor.
- September 9*—Harvesting—I drive the binder, Seward stooks.
- September 28*—Begin cutting flax, mosquitoes awful.
- October 6*—We plow out potatoes, I pick them up, Seward does more work on the house.
- October 15*—Mr. Sorenson is a plasterer by trade, and he is plastering our house and building the chimney.



*November 6*—Luse Land Co. bring first car load of landseekers into Wilcox, they call on us in the evening. Mr. Carter—one of their agents—brings me a basket of fruit, and takes home specimens of turnips. The men finish stacking flax.

*November 11*—Move into our new home to live. One year and ten days after it was begun. Our first real home in Canada.

*November 23*—Very cold, rise at 5 a.m.—Seward goes to Regina, am alone.

*November 24*—Very cold—rise early—frosted my feet while milking. Am still alone.

*November 25*—Seward returns from Regina, has bought an old horsepower threshing machine. It was necessary as there is no one in the community to thresh our crop. He sells half interest to Mr. Davis. And there are horses enough in our Colony to run the machine.

*December 25*—Weather has hovered around 35° below all this month with raging blizzards. Seward distributes Christmas boxes to neighbors.

1904

*January 2*—32° below. Seward and Sorenson go to Regina. Sam Kennedy milks cows for me and stays for supper, Seward gets home after midnight.

*January 8*—I churn twice.

*January 9*—Seward and I go to Milestone, sell \$7.00 worth of butter—get new bed.

*January 13*—Up early—Seward takes wheat to grind for feed, his brother, Will arrives on morning train.

*January 16*—Blizzard raging—Seward has been sick in bed for three days—Will does the chores, he wants to go home but can't get to station.

*January 19*—We hire John Davis to do chores for me while Seward returns to Nebraska with his brother, Will, to buy us some horses. John takes them to the train—30° below zero.

*January 21*—John does chores, I bake bread, beans, pies, roast meat, make doughnuts.

*January 30*—All this month has ranged from 30° to 40° below with snow and blizzard nearly every day. I help John get sleigh out of drifts, a terrible blizzard raging.

*February 1*—Blizzard all day—have to shovel drifts to get into my hen house.

*February 2*—John and I go to Milestone—a blizzard comes up—we face it all the way home, almost impossible to keep the trail—stop at Dick Reed's to get warm.

*February 12*—Terrible blizzard. The train stops. John goes down to the siding (we have no station or agent) and brings out Mrs. Dave Andrews, her small son Frank, and a bird cage of canaries. Soon the canaries thawed out and they are now singing while the blizzard rages outside—continues all night. Dave Andrews to follow later with carload of horses.

*February 13*—Blizzard continues—John does the chores and stays indoors, I clean the house.



*February 14*—St. Valentine's Day. Mr. Davis comes to borrow some coal, gets 5 tubs full.

*February 16*—Wind increases in velocity, blows terrifically all night and day—worst blizzard of the season. The first day I have been unable to feed my chickens. When I got up this morning, snow was drifted half way across the room.

*February 17*—Bright day—John goes down to siding to deliver some coal to Mr. Davis. I water the cows, the train stops, I hitch up the team and drive down after Seward—meet him walking out. Sorenson goes by and stops for dinner. I bake bread.

*February 18*—Bright, clear morning, but the wind is rising. I help Seward do the chores and bake beans. Dave Andrews arrives with the car of horses. The men unload them, put part of them in a vacant barn on the Lewis homestead, two miles south of us, bring the rest home, arrive 7 p.m.

*February 19*—Now one of the men must go two miles every day to feed horses in the Lewis barn, which will be hard work in bad weather. We now have eight fine work horses and I have a fine small driving team, and to my delight one of them, an excellent saddle pony. Now, I will have lots of fun chasing Red Fox and Coyotes, and there are plenty of both.

*February 21*—Men get some potatoes out of the cave, but all are frozen solid. Five horses at Lewis' barn have distemper.

*February 22*—Men try to get down to Lewis' barn to feed the horses, but compelled to give it up—can't find the trail. Snow drifts so high in our yard, the barn and other buildings are shut out of view from the house.

*February 25*—Men go down to feed horses at Lewis' barn—find one dead. They stick willows in the deep snow along the trail so they can find their way on stormy days. We have adopted a flock of prairie chickens, snow so deep they can't find food. Every morning when we get up we find them at our kitchen door waiting for their breakfast.

*March 3*—Men work in shack, oiling harness. Frank and I go down to Lewis' barn to feed the horses.

*March 10*—Frank and I go down to feed the horses—finish my wrapper.

*March 12*—Seward pays John \$10.00 for helping me do the chores while he was away.

*March 14*—Frosty morning, Seward takes 48 lbs. of butter to Milestone, snow so deep it's impossible to find the trail, so he is compelled to drive on the railroad track—there are no bridges, and no trains running so he is safe.

*March 16*—Men butcher the hogs—I sell 7 chickens at 30 cents each.

*March 18*—Men go after hay but storm is so bad they give it up.

*March 27*—Horses are without hay, Seward buys some oat sheaves of neighbor, 5 cents each.



*March 28*—Beautiful spring like day, chickens and turkeys are out in the yard for first time. Seward is sick in bed all day, first trains go by—three of them in one bunch—they have the railroad open now.

*March 29*—Dave and Frank go for a load of oats, have bad luck—break the sleigh—have to unload the oats on the railroad track.

*March 30*—Seward is still sick. I wash and hang clothes outdoors for first time. It was two years ago today we left Nebraska, and it has been a strenuous two years. Two years that will go down in Saskatchewan history, 1902 as the mosquito plague and 1903 as the year of the great prairie fire which destroyed over 7000 square miles of feed.”

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*Editor's Note:* In the spring issue of *Saskatchewan History* mention was made in Mrs. St. John's diary of Milestone and of Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Bunn. The following extract taken from the Report of the Commissioner of Immigration for the year ending July 1, 1904, in *Dominion of Canada Sessional Papers*, 1904, No. 25 mentions J. R. Bunn and gives further information on this general area:

John R. Bunn, subagent of Dominion lands at Milestone, Assiniboia, reports 170 homestead applications through his office during the last fiscal year. Eighty cars of settlers' effects were unloaded at his point. The majority of incoming settlers during the last year were from the United States, making the settlement in the neighborhood about equally divided between Americans and Canadians . . . The acreage under crop tributary to Milestone is slightly over 10,000 acres—about 75 per cent of which is in flax, 20 per cent. in oats and 5 per cent. in wheat. Flax gave a handsome return during last year [1903], and there was produced a remarkable crop of oats by Reginald Downing . . . whose crop weighed 50 pounds to the measured bushel, and the yield per acre by weight was 140 bushels . . . The agent reports a large area of land south of Moose Jaw Creek still open for entry and suitable for ranching or mixed farming.



## HISTORIC SITES

### The Search for Qu'Appelle Fort

THE Hudson's Bay Company's Qu'Appelle Fort which was visited by Captain Palliser in 1857 was built in the middle or in the late fifties of the last century as a wintering post or outpost from Fort Ellice. For almost a decade it was the most south-westerly frontier of the white man. It was not only a fur trading post for the great southern plains between the Qu'Appelle and the Missouri but it was the commissariat for the Company. To it came the great loads of buffalo meat, much of which was processed there and went to supply the actual sinews for the vast network of Company activities stretching back to the Bay. Actually it seems to have been the second post to be established in the Qu'Appelle district, for Palliser, who spent two days at the post on September 13th and 14th, 1857, describes it as a "small trading post of the Hudson Bay Co. which from having first been situated on the Qu'Appelle Lakes is known by that name."<sup>1</sup> In 1864 it was removed to the site of the present Fort Qu'Appelle.

The search for the site of this post on the plains has absorbed the writer's interest intermittently for the last ten years. There has been the more or less physical enjoyment which comes from exploring the out of the way corners of one's own district with a non-material quest in mind. And there has been the equally pleasant thrill of delving into old journals and poring over old maps with a definite objective as a stimulant. An added pleasure has been the personal contacts and friendships which have been made whilst following these two pursuits. The general plan of campaign was to gather and examine the documentary evidence during the winter and test it in the field as occasion provided—mostly in the spring and fall before the crop was in or after it was taken off.

My first actual evidence of the existence of an old Hudson's Bay fort in our district was one of the hearsay variety. The late A. W. Sherwood, one of the oldest residents of Indian Head, told me that such a fort had preceded the establishment of the historic fort in the valley and had been built somewhere south-west of the town. Later a friend loaned a copy of H. Y. Hind's report of his 1858 expedition. This famous traveller mentioned the existence of our Qu'Appelle fort as somewhere south of the valley, but his map places it approximately 20 miles south of Indian Head, and shows little surrounding details.<sup>2</sup>

During 1939 Mr. Z. M. Hamilton, Secretary of the Saskatchewan Historical Society, pointed out to the writer that Captain Palliser had plotted the location as long. 103° 46', lat. 50° 20', which indicated that the fort was approximately 14 miles south and a little west of Indian Head. This is in the Strawberry Lakes district—a sparsely and recently settled area, mostly rolling or hilly, with some scrub around the dried out sloughs. In May 1940 we made our first foray into this district, beginning near the west side of Dry Lake and fanning out along the shore

<sup>1</sup> *The Journals, Detailed Reports, and Observations Relative to the Exploration by Captain Palliser* . . . (London, 1862), p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Youle Hind, *Reports of Progress; Together with a Preliminary and General Report on the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition* . . . (Toronto, 1859).



in the fringe of scrub and poplar intending to work westward. Soon several holes were discovered, one of which had been partly filled with a motley of discarded material. Others showed signs of possible use as a basement. The holes did not form any very noticeable pattern or reveal anything that might suggest the pre-settlement period of habitation. They did seem to warrant further investigation, especially when later in the day we discovered signs of a long disused trail now grown over with scrub, leading to the place. Subsequently we made inquiries about the spot from the earliest settlers in that district and could find no one who knew anything about it.

This inconclusive result led to a further analysis of the documentary evidence. For a long time we searched in vain for some details as to the actual buildings at the fort so as to know just what to look for. The Earl of Southesk's narrative gave us a lot of interesting information about the daily life and colorful incidents which went around the post during his visit in September 1859, but did not supply any very significant evidence as to its site or size.<sup>3</sup> Finally Dr. A. S. Morton, then Head of the Department of History, University of Saskatchewan, sent us some extracts which he had gathered for us from the "Journal of Daily Occurrences kept at Qu'Appelle Lake post."<sup>4</sup> Some of these references were to the trading store, the house (probably Archibald McDonald's, who was in charge at the time), "the houses of the men" and "the stable." People are mentioned as passing on the "trail" to "Woody Hill" (Wood Mountain) to "the mission," and to "Fort Ellice." From these references it appeared that the chimney remains of several houses might be found. The chimneys were important parts of the forts, mostly built of stone chinked with clay; chimney heaps of fire clay and some of their stones should be conspicuous. Several basements or cellars should be visible. We could not secure definite evidence on the pattern of these so assumed they would follow the prescribed one of buildings along three sides of a square. We could discover no reference to a stockade but might well assume such, nor was there evidence on the size of the fort other than that it was a small one.

As to location, it was found that Isaac Cowie, himself an employee of the Company at the new fort in the valley, stated that the previous one had been "on the upland prairie rather south-easterly of the site of Fort Qu'Appelle."<sup>5</sup> On referring to the map which accompanied Captain Butler's *The Great Lone Land*, published in 1872 but based on earlier information, and one compiled by Dr. C. N. Bell of Winnipeg, named a "Map of British America from Lake Superior to the Rocky Mountains 1872," it was found that both showed the Qu'Appelle post as lying near a small lake and not far from a second, as shown by Palliser, but they also showed a stream linking this lake with the Qu'Appelle Valley. We knew also from our previous field work and study of Palliser's report that Dr. Hector had made his last evening's camp before arriving at the post on the shore of what today is called Deep Lake but named then "Stoney Lake." We knew the stream which linked this lake to the valley and were reasonably sure of the general path of the old trail which ran through this district from Fort Ellice to Qu'Appelle post.

<sup>3</sup> The Earl of Southesk, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*. (Toronto, 1875).

<sup>4</sup> This manuscript journal, for 1857-58, is in the University of Saskatchewan Library, Saskatoon, Sask.

<sup>5</sup> Isaac Cowie, *The Company of Adventurers*. (Toronto, 1913), p. 357.



Armed with this new evidence, we decided to start at Deep Lake and investigate in turn every stream that ran towards the valley particularly those whose source seemed to be anywhere near to a lake or to the old trail which cut across them. This entire section of our search filled many pleasant days. We discovered many things for which we were not looking, made a lot of friends, but did not find the fort. Finally, however, an old settler, Mr. D. H. Starr, from the neighboring district of Qu'Appelle, brought forward a claim that the site for which we were looking was a few miles south and a little west of the town of Qu'Appelle. I had heard of this before but it had seemed too much at variance with what we had at first considered cardinal evidence.

By the spring of 1944, however, I had reconsidered the entire evidence and after much investigation felt that this new site reported by Mr. Starr had a great deal to recommend it. Thus on a lovely May morning our party with full equipment and complete knowledge of what to look for set out once more. With the help of several farmers we finally located the spot about in the middle of section 1, Tp. 18, Rge. 15, W 2, or about three miles south and two and one-half miles west of South Qu'Appelle. Although the land had been cropped and the site ploughed over, there was abundant evidence to confirm our belief that this had once been a trading post of some size. The surrounding field was littered with buffalo bones, many broken, as was the custom, to extract the marrow. Considerable "processing" had gone on. There were several holes indicating basements more or less filled in by ploughing; a number of chimney heaps consisting of great strewn patches of fire clay which retained the impress of the stones. These formed a rough pattern of a three sided square. On this or succeeding visits we could find no trace of stockade, but more careful excavation may still reveal this. No stones were there but in conversation with the farmer who had broken the land we learned that many stones had been removed, and later a pile of these was found.

Checking this location with the documentary evidence showed that it was quite near to the "Little Long Lake" mentioned by Isaac Cowie, and had been near to a second lake now dried, but once fairly large. Both lakes had been shown on three of the old maps we had used. It was just below the range of hills, the eastern section of which had been shown on the Palliser map as "Squirrel Hills." It was only two miles further south from the "Qu'Appelle Lakes at the mission" then the distance mentioned in the Palliser report. It was quite near the trails mentioned in the report and shown on the early survey sheets of the district and also in the above mentioned "Journal of Daily Occurrences." It was about the right distance and direction travelled by both Dr. Hector and Capt. Palliser and as set down in their report, viz. eleven miles or about four hours travel from the north end of Stoney Lake, now called Deep Lake. The immediate approach from the east coincided with the description given by the Earl of Southesk and the approach from the north coincided with the description given by Dr. Hector.

It was still necessary, however, to account for the most serious discrepancy in the evidence, namely the difference between the position of this site and the description of its position as made by Capt. Palliser from his astronomical observations. There is a difference of about  $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles in latitude and about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles in longitude. We left it to Dr. Morton to fit this intractable piece into our jig-saw puzzle. He pointed out that if the other evidence was as we had found it



then this particular discrepancy might be explained by the mistake of some copyist or printer who mistook Palliser's latitude of  $50^{\circ} 29'$  and made it read  $50^{\circ} 20'$ . This may not be the correct explanation but it seems the most satisfactory at present.<sup>6</sup>

My chief regret is that death prevented Dr. Morton from visiting the locality, for I feel sure that he was satisfied with our find. It is to be hoped that some permanent mark will be placed on this site to preserve this interesting link with the colorful past of Southern Saskatchewan.

T. PETTY

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*Editor's Note:* Doctor R. C. Russell, Dominion Laboratory of Plant Pathology, Saskatoon, supplies the following information on the site of Qu'Appelle Fort which he visited recently:

Messrs. Petty and Peterson, of Indian Head, conducted me to the spot during the spring of 1948. Faint evidences of several cellars were to be seen. Stinging nettles and hops were growing in one of these. Thick stubble made it difficult to see small objects on the ground but we found half a dozen fragments of old pottery, chimneys, the badly rusted blade of an old spade, part of an iron barrel-hoop, a piece of clam shell, and a large number of broken buffalo bones (probably broken open to extract the marrow). The relics secured were similar to those I picked up on the site of Fort Carlton in 1946.

A second visit was made to the same site in the spring of this year, 1949, in company with Mr. R. J. Ledingham. We were fortunate, because the high winds of early spring had laid bare a number of articles on the surface of the ground. These included more fragments of pottery, including one bearing the name of "Spode," several brass buttons, glass beads and fragments of unglazed clay pipes. The prize finds, however, were the following: First, a beautifully glazed little porcelain pipe. It had a short stem and was colored a rich brown on the outside except for a band of pure white around the top of the bowl. Second, a portion of an old belt buckle evidently issued to the survivors of the Battle of the Alma, September 20, 1854, "The Alma Belt." Possibly one of Captain Palliser's men or one of the Earl of Southesk's party left it there.

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<sup>6</sup> *Editor's Note:* Dr. Morton also pointed out that Palliser stated (*op. cit.*, p. 191) his chronometers had been exposed to rough usage and that consequently they had "lost that uniformity of rate on which alone depends their value for determining longitudes." This may explain the discrepancy of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles in longitude.



## Book Reviews

BLANKETS AND BEADS: A History of the Saskatchewan River. By James G. MacGregor. Edmonton: The Institute of Applied Art, Ltd., 1949. Pp. 278.

THE author of *Blankets and Beads* is an electrical engineer who has travelled up and down the Saskatchewan valley in the course of company business. He sees the river as one "sparkling with romance and adventure" and he wants to kindle in those who live along its banks something of his own enthusiasm for and understanding of its history.

To stand on a headland looking idly down two or three hundred feet at the Saskatchewan, as it winds around the foot of the hill, and to watch the gulls circling so effortlessly back and forth over the surface of the stream, is pleasure enough. To be able to stand and see in the mind's eye the hardy explorer's canoe paddling upstream into an unknown land, adds to this a pleasure, indefinable perhaps, but no less real. (p. 63).

Mr. MacGregor "conjures up visions" of Indian and trader, of missionary and settler. He paints an enchanting picture of the existence of the Indian before "the peace of (his) Garden of Eden was shattered unwittingly by evil in the guise of the white man's gifts"—the horse, the gun, rum, and small-pox. Mr. MacGregor is fascinated by the search for the North West Passage by land and he outlines that "glorious chapter in exploration." In the period of the fur trade, though, he finds most of the romance and adventure which he associates with the Saskatchewan. He relives some of the stirring experiences of "great traders" such as Samuel Hearne, Peter Pond, Duncan M'Gillivray, John Rowand, and the Alexander Henrys, uncle and nephew. He gives an absorbing account of the actual conduct of trade and the provisioning of the fur brigades. He visualizes the structure of the posts and recounts the history of Forts Vermilion, George, Carlton, and Edmonton. In a separate chapter he retraces his steps to survey the development of transportation on the river. He tells the grim story of bloodshed—of Indian warfare, of conflict between rival traders, of that rebellion of métis and Indian against the injustices and lethargy of officialdom which was the most dramatic episode in the history of the North-West Territories. Finally, he includes a chapter on Father Lacombe, the McDougalls, and other outstanding missionaries and then skims lightly over the unspectacular story of agricultural settlement.

Mr. MacGregor wanted to present "the most colorful episodes" of past life along the river and he turned to the writings of the late Dr. A. S. Morton for authentic material. Under Dr. Morton's guidance he culled the most readable portions from journals and other contemporary records and thus was spared the tedious task of research in scattered sources. It is pleasant to note Mr. MacGregor's frequent acknowledgements of his own debt to Dr. Morton and his recognition of the value to all Westerners of Dr. Morton's work as archivist and historian.

*Blankets and Beads* is not a book for the professional historian. It has little to contribute to existing knowledge of the subject and it lacks the perspective which comes from patient sifting of all the available records, the dry-as-dust as



well as the dramatic. The author ignores the south branch of the Saskatchewan because it "lacks glamour" and "assumes historical importance only after it leaves Saskatoon." The book has faults of organization and style and occasionally it gives inaccurate information. It has useful maps but these would be even more valuable if done on a larger scale. Yet *Blankets and Beads* has much to offer to the very readers whom the author is anxious to attract—persons living in the vicinity of the river who are unfamiliar with the picturesque features of its past. The series of engaging scenes which the author presents should excite interest in other aspects of the history of Western Canada. Many readers will find pleasure, too, in the vivid glimpses of familiar stretches of the river's course which the author so happily describes.

JEAN E. MURRAY

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THE COMMUNITY OF ZELMA, 1904-1949. By Zelma Homemakers' Club. Saskatoon: Saskatoon Printers, 1949. Pp. 26, illus. \$1.00.

THIS is the story of a Saskatchewan village, a village differing little in development or appearance from dozens of other small urban communities. Yet its story, as compiled by the local Homemakers' Club, makes interesting reading. The community's original settlers were part of that great surge of land seekers into the province in the first decade of the century. There are the usual homesteading anecdotes of hardships and endurance, of sod houses, blizzards and prairie fires. The village of Zelma owed its birth to the building of the Grand Trunk Pacific line in 1908. After a short boom Zelma settled down to a long period of quiet prosperity. In more recent years a disastrous fire, the depression of the 1930's, and the routing of a provincial highway so as to by-pass the village have given its business life a setback. In compensation for its lack of size it enjoys the neighborliness and tranquility of a small community.

This local history was entered in the Tweedsmuir essay contest sponsored by the provincial Homemakers' Clubs; to date it is the only entry to appear in print. The format of the booklet is attractive and the illustrations well chosen. A more finished appearance would have been given the book had the pages been numbered.

BRUCE PEEL

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THE STORY OF A PIONEER. By J. B. Linnell, as told by his daughter-in-law, Ruth Linnell at Summerberry, Saskatchewan. Grenfell, Grenfell Sun print, 1949. Pp. 22, illus. The autobiography of a pioneer who settled in the Summerberry district in 1885.



## Notes and Correspondence

**D**UE to the appointment of Dr. Hilda Neatby to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, *Saskatchewan History* will be edited in her absence by Lewis H. Thomas. Dr. Neatby will continue to serve on the Editorial Committee.

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Miss Marion Hagerman who has served so efficiently as Business Manager of *Saskatchewan History* and as Executive Assistant to the Provincial Archivist has resigned to take a course in library science at the University of Southern California. She will be greatly missed by all those connected with this publication. A. F. Broadbridge has been appointed as Business Manager to succeed Miss Hagerman.

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Mrs. E. A. Archibald of Emberville, Sask. relates the following interesting anecdote in connection with the area near Ft. Pitt:

We were very interested in the records of Old Fort Pitt and the country there. We lived for some years 1 mile south of the river and overlooking Fort Pitt. We were on a promontory overlooking the valley running up from the river at that point. The Valley was known as the Haunted Valley. It was stated by old timers that this was the Indian name for it. It appears there had been a very sad tragedy in connection with a beautiful white girl which seems to have happened up the valley by a lake now known as Greenstreet Lake. The story was that the Indians thought that the white lady as they called her continued to haunt the valley. I often wondered if the eerie and fantastic white mist that would rise off the river in the evenings and move up the valley below us, had something to do with the idea that this lady haunted the valley.

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Mr. A. W. Garratt author of the *History of Milestone 1893-1910*, which was reviewed in the spring issue of *Saskatchewan History* by Mr. Bruce Peel makes the following pertinent comment:

With regard to the American invasion as I called it, I am pleased to state that that was an influx of friendly, co-operative people who settled down among the Canadian homesteaders and who immediately took their place with the Canadians in the organization of local institutions such as local government, schools, churches, etc. I was struck with the similarity of the American and Canadian settlers. Many of them became naturalized soon after arriving. There was no particular Americanism apparent. I have just been reading Mr. V. Fowke's review of Professor Sharp's book *The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada*. The third paragraph of that review, page 33 of the January number [*Saskatchewan*



*History*] expressed my idea of the Americans who settled at Milestone. I do not think I could have properly estimated the influence of the churches on the general life of the community. What struck me most forcibly was the fact that such a large percentage of the early settlers both Canadian and American were so willing, even eager to get together and establish as early as possible churches, services, Sunday schools etc. in their midst. It indicated that many of them came from Christian homes and surroundings and they appeared to consider this a prerequisite in the development of any new community.

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Dr. R. C. Russell, Dominion Laboratory of Plant Pathology, Saskatoon, has supplied us with the following description of his visit to an old fur trade post in the Touchwood Hills:

The first Hudson's Bay post in the Touchwood Hills was built by Thos. Taylor in 1852, and was abandoned in 1861. I was guided to it by Mr. Fred Morris, formerly Indian interpreter at the Indian Agency just north of Punnichy.

Starting from the highway corner in front of the Indian Agency this site can be reached by going straight north for 4.8 miles, then turning to the left on the old Carlton Trail and following it across cultivated farms for about two miles. First you come to the ruins of an Anglican mission house which was built of stones, on the S.E. quarter of 9-29-17 W2nd; about 0.5 miles further on you cross the eastern boundary of the Poor Man Indian Reserve. The site of the post according to Mr. Morris, is 0.4 miles in on the reserve and close to the trail. If you follow the trail for another 0.7 of a mile you can see a little lake which I believe is mentioned in Dr. Cheadle's diary, as follows: "Thurs. Sept. 18th. At sundown came upon Touchwood Hills. Old fort; pretty situation, rounded hills, etc. Autumn tints at sunset very fine. Encamp just beyond fort near pretty lake with round wooded island in centre very like a miniature Derwentwater."

This little lake lies just south of the trail. It has lost a great deal of its water but the island with its covering of trees is still there, and one can easily visualize the beauty of the place when the water was at a high level.

The site of the post is on the Indian Reserve and it is overgrown with grass and bush. Mr. Morris showed me the remains of an old cellar just north of the trail which he says belonged to what the Indians called the "powder factory." We did not have time to examine the spot carefully. It should be examined thoroughly after studying references to it by Professor Hind, The Earl of Southesk, Dr. Cheadle and others. On July 15th, 1949, in company with Mr. R. N. Hurley, I paid a second visit to this site . . . The growth of wild rose-bushes and badger-bush was somewhat more luxuriant on the site of the post than elsewhere in the vicinity. Well hidden by the brush, I discovered several small depressions suggestive of the remains of cellars of other buildings which once stood on the site of the post . . . We then followed the Carlton Trail in a westerly direction until we came to Cheadle's "miniature Derwentwater." All of the sloughs and lakes in this part of the Touchwoods are at very low ebb this year, most of them being quite dry. However, there was a little stagnant water in the bottom of this one. Apparently it had been about 15 feet deep at one time. There was so



much bluff around it that it was difficult to secure a good picture of lake and island. A picture was taken from the S.W. corner of the lake and it shows the west half of the lake-bottom, with a little water at the far end, and the wooded island on the right. There is a level grassy stretch just beyond the trees at the far end on the left. This is probably the spot where Milton and Cheadle camped with their buffalo skin lodge in 1862. In the far distance, beyond the camp site, is one of the big round-topped hills typical of the Big Touchwoods. It is bare on the south side and clothed with poplars and shrubbery on the north, and rises to a height of one or two hundred feet above the surrounding country.

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The following description of "the Red Deer River Drive" appears in a communication from Mrs. Ruth G. Schell, Penticton, B.C., formerly of Hudson Bay, Sask.

No more does the cry of "timber" echo in nearby woods. The cant-hook and the peevy have been replaced by the thresher and the combine. Nor more does the "Wannigan" ply the waters of the Red Deer River as it formed the vanguard of the spring drive. There are a few who still recall the days when its whistle drew the population of the village out "en masse" to celebrate its arrival. In picnic fashion, on the river bank, they partook of a hearty feast of wholesome lumberman's fare prepared aboard this travelling cookhouse. They agree, "Those were the days."

In 1903 the Red Deer River Lumber Company was formed with shareholders in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Mr. O. A. Robertson was president, Harry Box, the superintendent, and Duncan McDonald "walking boss." They secured a limit near Erwood, Saskatchewan, where the first "cut" was made. In March of 1903 they called George Porterfield of Star City, Saskatchewan, to be foreman of the first drive which consisted of four million feet of logs. The course followed was down the Etomami and Red Deer Rivers to the mill on Red Deer Lake in Manitoba. After being sawn, lumber was carried on the company's five and one half mile spur to the C.N.R. at Barrows Junction and hence to outside markets. The laying of the steel in the summer of 1903, from Erwood to Hudson Bay Junction, as it was then called, with the Mackenzie and Mann Company in charge, resulted in the moving of the Red Deer River Lumber Company to the latter point.

Now living in Lac Vert, Sask., having last May celebrated his ninetieth birthday, Mr. Porterfield still recalls experiences of that summer while, as foreman, he helped in the construction of the ferry across the Red Deer River, a discarded derrick of which may still be seen today. Next came the building of twenty-three miles of tote road for carrying food, supplies and equipment to camps 1, 2, and 3 on the Little Swan River. Camp one held the unique record of operating for thirteen consecutive winters. From here the road was continued for twenty-two miles to headwaters on the Etomami River where camps 4, 5, and 6 were set up. From these six camps 35,000,000 feet of logs were taken the next winter.

The Mackenzie and Mann Company also had two camps farther along the Etomami River from which 10,000,000 feet of logs and 200,000 ties were taken, making a total for the 1904 drive of 45,000,000 feet of logs and 200,000 ties. Mr. Porterfield reports that this drive went down in the record time of twenty-two days with no jams.



On April 1st, 1906, George McGillis of Wisconsin, U.S.A., arrived to take over foreman duties among the first of which was the construction of three dams near Reserve, Saskatchewan, necessitated by the diminishing supply of water in the river. No longer could they rely on spring floods. Accumulation of two winters logging already awaited the completion of the dams. Mr. McGillis is a woodsman of renown. He has a complete and very accurate knowledge of the country for miles around. With only one brief absence, he remained with the company until 1925, conducting the last drive in 1923.

The mill on the Red Deer Lake continued to operate until 1925, cleaning up remaining logs from 1923 until that time. It then sold out to the Pas Lumber Company. Continuance of railroad construction enabled the company to again move headquarters nearer the source of supply and in 1930 they located at Reserve, Saskatchewan, from where they operate today. Tractor trains, the modern means of transporting logs to the mill, have replaced the drive, but the thrilling adventurous, days of the Red Deer River Drive will be forever linked with the history and development of Hudson Bay.

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Mr. Lorne M. Brandon of Norquay comments as follows on Adam McBeath, whose name appears in the order of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West Territories of October 24, 1878, which appeared in Volume I Number 3, of *Saskatchewan History*.

I did not know Mr. McBeath, Hudson's Bay Company, factor of old Fort Pelly days, but many of our pioneers still remember him well. The other day I talked to a man who worked when a lad for McBeath about 1904. Even at that date, McBeath was yearning for the "good old days" and deplored the fact that the fur trade was decreasing rapidly. One day McBeath's long white beard caught on fire when lighting his pipe. His pet expression was "Heavens-to-Betsy!" which he really uttered in surprise on that occasion and smothered the beard fire with his bare hands . . .

As I live in the valley about midway between Fort Pelly and Fort Livingstone, I never miss an opportunity to learn something new or old about these historic places. Many of the stories may be only rumour but are nevertheless interesting, such as the one about the large quantity of liquor buried in oak casks in the sand at Fort Pelly when the Hudson's Bay Company feared an Indian attack, and later never recovered it as it could not be located. Then again the story of buried money at Fort Livingstone and never found. Probably both fictitious.

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A number of our subscribers wish to obtain Volume I, Number 1 of *Saskatchewan History*, which is now out of print. We invite any readers who have no further use for this number to send it to the Business Manager so that it will be available for distribution to those who require a complete file for reference purposes.

Since the publication of the last number of *Saskatchewan History* the Office of the Saskatchewan Archives in Saskatoon has secured new and more commodious quarters on the third floor of the Field Husbandry Building, University of Saskatchewan. Our readers are cordially invited to visit the office to inspect the collections and equipment.



## *Contributors*

A. N. REID, assistant professor of economics at the University of Saskatchewan is at present engaged in research in the field of local government in Western Canada. This is the second and concluding article in this series.

L. H. THOMAS is Provincial Archivist of Saskatchewan. He succeeds Professor G. W. Simpson, Head of the History Department of the University of Saskatchewan who resigned as archivist in 1948.

A. F. BROADBRIDGE received his Master's degree from the University of Saskatchewan in history this year and is now executive assistant to the Provincial Archivist and Business Manager of *Saskatchewan History*.

T. PETTY is Principal of the Public School in Indian Head and a keen student of the history of the Qu'Appelle area.

DR. JEAN E. MURRAY is assistant professor of history at the University of Saskatchewan.

BRUCE PEEL is librarian of the Shortt Library at the University of Saskatchewan.

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### *Editorial Note:*

The editorial committee will welcome comments on this issue and suggestions for the future. Articles and illustrations suitable for publication are desired, but contributors should consult the editor before submitting material.

### *Sustaining Subscriptions:*

A sustaining subscription rate at \$5 per year has been established. It is believed that many Saskatchewan residents would be willing to make a larger contribution towards the continuance of this publication, if the opportunity were afforded. We hope for a generous response from our readers.





